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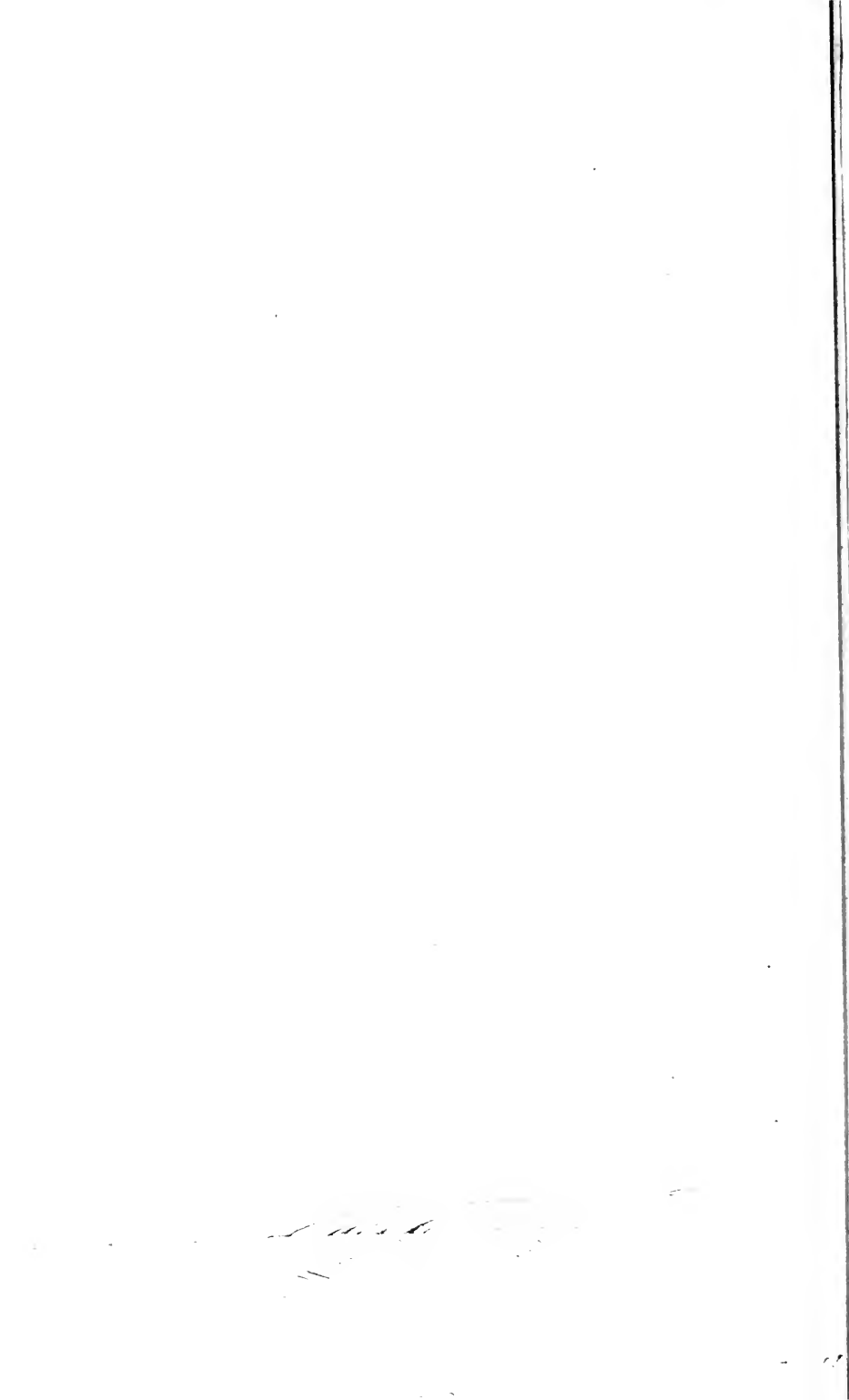


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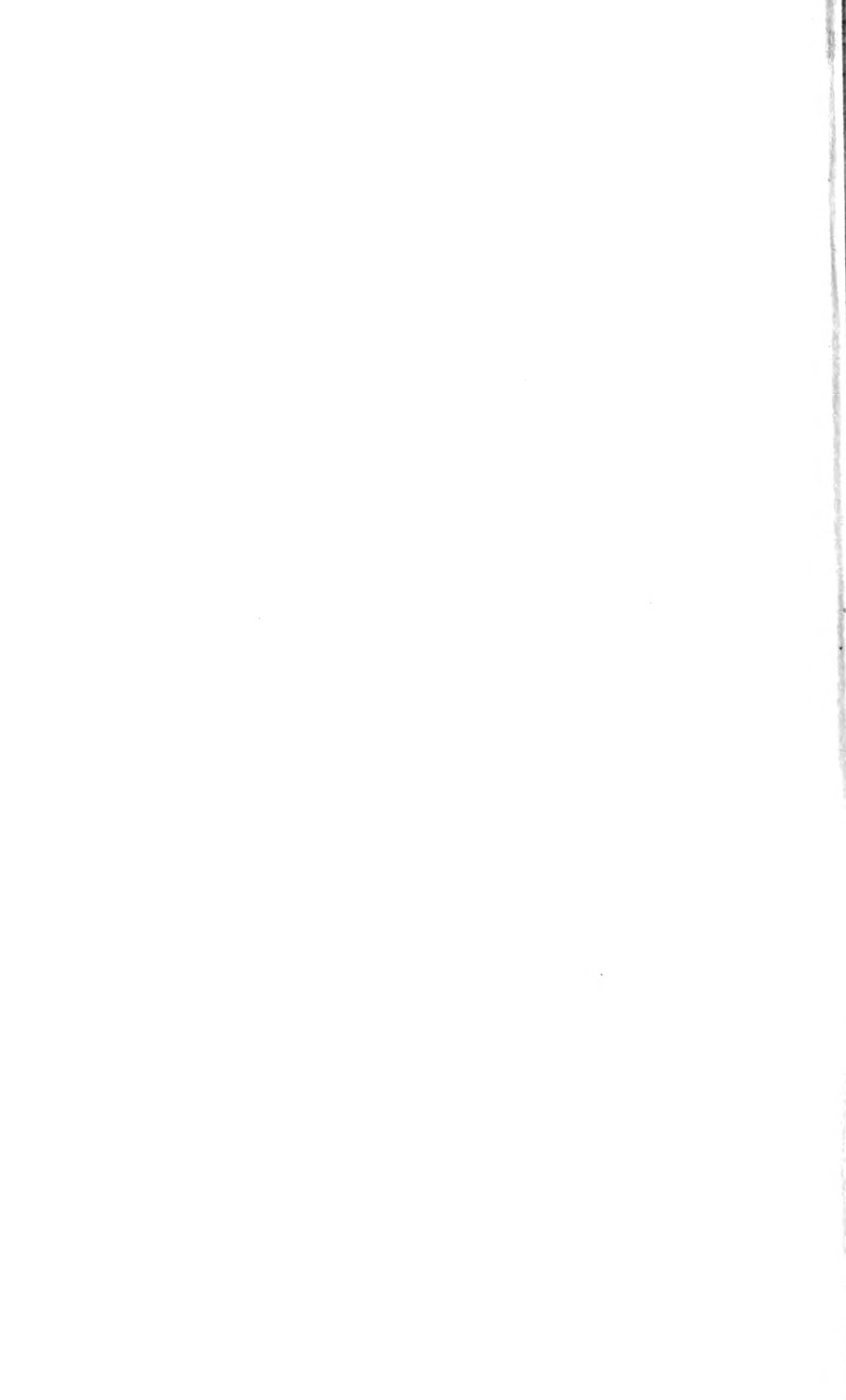
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MARGARET OF ANJOU.





RENÉ "THE GOOD,"

KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM, DUKE OF ANJOU AND LORRAIN AND
COUNT OF PROVENCE.

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
MARGARET OF ANJOU,
QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

By MARY ANN HOOKHAM.



VOL. II.

LONDON:
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.
1872.



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MARGARET OF ANJOU.

CHAPTER I.

(*Warwick to Plantagenet.*) “ In signal of my love to thee,

“ Will I upon thy party wear the rose ;

“ And here I prophesy—this brawl to-day,

“ Grown to this faction in the Temple Gardens,

“ Shall send, between the Red rose and the White

“ A thousand souls to death, and deadly night.”*—SHAKESPEARE.

White and Red Roses—Battle of St. Alban’s—Somerset is slain—The Yorkists conduct the King to London—King Henry’s illness—York made “ Protector ”—Henry recovers, and York is deprived of his office—He retires into Yorkshire—He consults with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick—The King and Queen go to Coventry—Margaret’s stratagem, and her attempt to reconcile the two parties—They come to London—The reconciliation and procession to St. Paul’s—The Yorkists withdraw from Court—An affray in London—Warwick assaulted—Salisbury takes up arms—Battle of Blackheath—Lord Audley slain—Queen Margaret assembles a large army at Coventry—Remonstrates with the King, who advances to Ludlow—He offers pardon to the rebels—Complaints of the Yorkists—The Duke of York’s stratagem—Trollop goes over to the King, and the Yorkists disperse—The castle and town of Ludlow spoiled—A Parliament held at Coventry—The Yorkists attainted—The Duke of York in Ireland—Somerset sent to gain Calais—Interview between York and Warwick in Ireland—The punishment of the Yorkists—Rebellion of the Kentishmen, who are joined by the Lords from Calais—An army of 25,000 march to London—The gates of the city are thrown open to receive them.

THE two contending parties had assumed the badge of a rose ; a white one being borne by the Yorkists, whilst a red one distinguished the party of the Lancastrians. It seems strange that so lovely a flower,

* Shakespeare seems to have chosen from tradition, rather than history, the locality of the Temple Gardens, as the scene where the two badges were first assumed by the Yorkists and Lancastrians.

always emblematical of beauty, of innocence, and of love, should in those days have been used as the badge of destruction, hatred, and bloodshed; but it affords another instance amongst the many of man's perversion of the good gifts in nature, when excited by his passions to the destruction of his fellow-men in civil warfare.

As early as the time of John of Ghent, the rose was used as an heraldic emblem; and when he married Blanche, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, he used the red rose for his device. Edmund of Langley, his brother, the fifth son of Edward III., adopted the white rose in opposition to him; and their followers afterwards maintained these distinctions in the bloody wars of the fifteenth century. There is, however, no authentic account of the precise period when these badges were first adopted. The "House of Clifford" bore the white rose, being descended by a female line from Edmund of Langley. We are further told that the white rose was the device of the castle of Clifford, one of the possessions of the Duke of York. The badge of the House of York was first the white falcon, and it was not until the time of his claiming the crown that the Duke of York adopted the white rose, when it is probable he chose it for his followers from its contrast to that of his rival.*

1455.
Baker;
Holinshed;
Sandford.

In the town of St. Alban's, on the 23rd of May, 1455, was fought the first battle in the memorable wars of the Roses.

* The white dog-rose, "*rosa arvensis*," which is most common in the west of Yorkshire, has been generally named as the rebel rose; but both white and red were rebellious emblems, as the blood of our ancestors has proved. Some have said that during the civil wars a rose-tree, found at Longfleet, bore white flowers on one side and red ones on the other, prognosticating the union of the two Houses; also, that after the marriage of Henry VII. a rose was first seen with red and white petals, called the "York and Lancaster," an emblem of that happy union.—*Sandford*; *Pennant*; *Londiniana*; *Willemont's Regal Heraldry*; *Cumden's Remains*; *Phillips's Sylva Florifera*.

The two armies met on level ground, where there appeared to be no impediment to fighting, and an engagement seemed inevitable. Before its commencement King Henry sent a herald to the Duke of York, commanding him to keep the peace as a dutiful subject, and thus to avoid the shedding of blood. To this the Duke, who, in all his actions sought to make it appear that he was consulting the public good, replied, that he would dismiss his troops if the King would deliver up the Duke of Somerset to submit to the ordinary course of justice. The King refused, declaring, with firmness, "That, sooner than abandon
" one of the Lords who was faithful to him, he was
" prepared that day to live or die in their quarrel." Thus was the Duke's offer rejected, the Court only regarding it as a vain pretext; and finding no other way to accommodate their differences but by the sword, both parties prepared for battle.

The King's banner was placed in St. Peter's Street. The attack was commenced in three places by the insurgents, who, headed by the Earl of Warwick, vigorously pressed the royalists, shouting the tremendous name of their leader, as they broke in through the gardens into Holywell Street. The Duke of York also entered the town, when a dreadful fight ensued. The suddenness as well as the force of the assault had thrown the royalists into great confusion, and the Duke of Somerset found it impossible to repair the disorder. The opportunity, indeed, was scarcely afforded him, for the Duke of York, perceiving the advantage which his friend had gained, seconded him with so much alacrity that the battle was quickly decided, with the loss of 5,000, or as some say, 8,000 * men, on the side of the royalists.

* Pennant says orders had been given by the King, or Queen, that no quarter should be given. Authors differ much in their computations. Some

Many of the chief nobility were slain. Amongst those who fell were the commander, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland (son of the noted Hotspur), Humphrey Earl of Stafford, the valiant John Lord Clifford, who had defended the barriers, and several others of less note. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Dorset, Dudley, and Wenlock, with others, who were also wounded, withdrew from the battle, and thus the defeat was complete.*

King Henry, finding himself deserted by his chief nobility, and having received a wound in the neck with an arrow, retired to a neighbouring dwelling, which was quickly invested. The Duke of York, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, hastened thither, and, throwing themselves on their knees before their Sovereign, with mock humility assured him of their readiness to obey all his commands, now that their common enemy, the "Traitor" Somerset was no more. The affrighted monarch exclaimed, "Let there be no more killing, and I'll do what you will have me!" A retreat was immediately sounded, and King Henry was conducted by the Duke of York, first to the shrine of St. Alban's, and afterwards to London.

The lively interest so universally felt for the King was evinced on this occasion. A letter written immediately after this battle ends thus:—"And as for our sovereign Lord, thanked be God he hath no great harm." This first battle of St. Alban's was chiefly gained by the archers. The Duke of Somerset

say that many thousands were slain in this battle. One writer tells us 800 common men, besides the nobles. A letter, dated the day after the battle, reduces the number to six score. The day of the battle has also varied; by some it is placed on the 2nd, 22nd, 23rd, or 28th of May.

* Baker; Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Carte; Harding's Chron.; Milles's Catalogue; Sandford; Pennant; Henry; Daniel; Stow; Lond. Chron.; Howel; Toplis; Lingard; Hume; Paston Letters; Rot. Parl.; Bridge's Northampton; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

lost his life beneath the sign of the "Castle," thus fulfilling the prophecy of Margery Jourdemayne, the "witch of Eye," which has thus been given by Shakespeare :—

" Let him shun castles,
 " Safer shall he be on the sandy plains,
 " Than where castles mounted stand."*

In the chapel of St. Mary, at St. Alban's, were interred the bodies of Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, and others, to the number of forty-seven, slain in this battle.†

The timid monks of St. Alban's Abbey had anxiously " listened to the clash of arms and the groans of the wounded, and on the morning after the battle issued from their cells to behold the melancholy spectacle. " The maimed and mangled corpses lay in the streets, " transfixed with barbed darts, which had made such " havoc amidst the partisans of the red rose." Fearful of offending the victor, these monks would not remove the bodies of the slain, until permission had been given them. Then the pious brethren performed their obsequies, and interred them in a line in the chapel, each one of the nobles and others according to their birth and rank.‡

Sir Philip Wentworth, who had borne the King's standard in the field, cast it down and fled; thus he drew upon himself the contempt of all parties by this base desertion of the royal colours. The Duke of Norfolk, although on the Yorkist side, would have hanged him for his cowardice, had he not concealed himself in Suffolk, not daring to appear before the King.§

In the reverse of fortune which King Henry at this

* Baker ; Holinshed ; Sandford ; Toplis ; Stow ; Pol. Vergil ; Howel ; Paston Letters ; Pennant ; Rapin ; Lingard.

† Pol. Vergil ; Milles's Catalogue ; Pennant ; Daniel.

‡ Wethamstede ; Gough.

§ Paston Letters.

time experienced, he did not so much lament his own misfortunes, as he grieved at the death of the Duke of Somerset. He had placed such great confidence in him, and could not but regret that, after his conduct in France, and the great valour he had shown abroad, he should at length be slain at home by his own countrymen.

It is recorded, of this first battle of St. Alban's, that no executions were commanded by the victorious party. The ties of kindred were yet unbroken by the ambitious and vindictive spirit of the nobles and heads of families; but, it being a point of honour to revenge offences, these high-born chiefs, yielding more and more to their resentment, became at length implacable, and daily widened the breach between the two parties. In this fatal contest of "the Roses," the first blood shed was in this battle of St. Alban's. It was the commencement of an era quite unprecedented in English history, and signalized by twelve pitched battles, in which alternately the banners of York and Lancaster floated triumphantly; the utmost fierceness, and cruelty being exhibited during a period of thirty years, in which it is computed not less than eighty princes of the blood lost their lives, and almost all the ancient nobility of this land were annihilated.*

1455.
Holinshed;
Milles's
Catalogue;
Paston
Letters.

After the battle of St. Alban's and the King's return to the metropolis, a Parliament was summoned by this monarch, which was appointed for the 9th of July following.† The Lords were commanded to attend with only their own household servants, such fear was there, that this meeting would lead to discord and contention.

A letter of that period informs us that the King, Queen and Prince then repaired to Hertford, to remain

* Toplis; Hume.

† This was prorogued on the 31st of July to the 12th of November.

until the opening of Parliament. The Duke of York also went to the Friars at Ware, the Earl of Warwick to Hunsdon, and the Earl of Salisbury to Rye, to await the time of this important session.

The Duke of Buckingham had, it appears, taken an oath of submission to the Yorkists, and was bound, as were his two brothers, by recognizance in notable sums to adhere to their party. Previous to the late engagement the Earl of Wiltshire had been in attendance on the King's person, and desiring to return to this office he addressed a letter from Petersfield to the victorious Lords for their permission to do so, or in case of their refusal, to allow him to depart to Ireland and live there on his own estate; but, previously to this, these lords were advised to require of him, the same as of the Duke of Buckingham.

The Baron Dudley was in the Tower, having accused many persons; and the Earl of Dorset was in the custody of the Earl of Warwick.

Three persons were, at this time, accused of conspiring to stab the Duke of York in the King's chamber, but they were able to clear themselves of the charge; yet this occasioned a great commotion throughout London, on Corpus Christi, the 5th of June.

In this month also a blazing star is recorded by the chroniclers to have appeared, extending its beams to the south: the ominous precursor of this Parliament and of the coming disasters.*

The unfortunate King Henry was at this season again attacked by his former disorder, and the session was opened by the Duke of York, as his Lieutenant. The next day the Commons petitioned that if the King were incapable of attending to the protection of the country an able person should be appointed as "Protector," to whom they might have recourse, to redress

1455.

* Paston Letters; Howel's *Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ*.

their grievances; especially as great disturbances had lately arisen in the West, through the feuds of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville.

Upon this the Lords conjured the Duke of York to undertake this charge. In reply, the Duke, with affected humility, alleged his incapacity; but, on their renewed entreaties accompanied with compliments on his wisdom and abilities, he accepted this office, but conditionally, that the "Protectorate" should not be, as before, revocable at the will of the King, but by the Parliament, with the consent of the Lords temporal and spiritual. The powers of government were vested in the Council; but this provision was only intended by the Duke to blind the eyes of the nation, as he had previously secured a majority in his favour in the Council, and his two friends Salisbury and Warwick had already been appointed to fill the offices of Chancellor and Governor of Calais.

A declaration was next made to this effect, viz., that the Queen and the Duke of Somerset had imposed on the King's kindness and condescension, and had administered badly in his name. Also that they had laid a false accusation against the Duke of Gloucester, who was declared in this Parliament to have been a true and loyal subject.

The alienations of crown lands of this reign were now revoked, and an attempt was made to justify the late rebellion, under the plea that the King required to be set free from his thralldom. All the blame was cast on Somerset and his party, whose concealment of the Duke of York's letter had been the cause of the late commotions. This letter, so maliciously withheld from the knowledge of the King by the Duke of Somerset, Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Exchequer, and William Joseph, Esquire, their confidant, was intended, they said, to promote the peace and welfare of the

kingdom; for therein they had merely required, as good and loyal subjects, that the King would be pleased not to listen to the misrepresentations of their enemies, until, by their presence, they might be enabled to confute them. Further, they had humbly craved permission to approach their sovereign, in order to exhibit the causes of their appearing in arms, by which they purposed only to show their fidelity to his person, and to promote his security and honour. The suppression of this letter furnished them with a pretext in Parliament to justify their subsequent conduct, as well as for the battle which had ensued, in the result of which they were triumphant. A general pardon was granted by them to all who had committed crimes and offences previous to the first day of this session.

The Yorkists, having established their authority, decided that King Henry should be permitted to maintain his dignity; yet they suffered him to enjoy but the name of King. They dared not take his life, lest by this act they should provoke the anger of the people, who were strongly attached to him, for his peaceful and holy life and for his clemency. The Duke of York, therefore, as well as the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Warwick and Oxford made a great show of favour and condescension to the King, calling themselves his best friends. They even took oath on the 24th of July in the most solemn manner, and swore allegiance to their King, promising to defend his person and maintain his authority; and this oath was ordered to be enacted in the Parliamentary Roll, and also incorporated in the "Book of the Council" to be left on record.* Nor would the Duke of York allow it to appear that King Henry acted by compulsion. For this reason a petition had

* This "Book of the Council" referred to no longer exists, and probably with it have perished many important records of the reign of Henry VI.

been several times presented to the King during his illness, and while residing at Hertford, praying him to nominate a Protector, being himself incapacitated for paying attention to affairs of state. This monarch at length appointed the Duke of York to fill that high office until removed by Parliament, or the young Prince should be of age to govern.

This was the second time that York was made Protector, and it lasted but a brief period.

1455. The illness of King Henry at this time was not so severe as in the preceding year. The condition of apathy into which he had fallen was not mental only, but also bodily, being obliged to be assisted from one room to another by two of his attendants. On the 5th of June this year the Dean of Salisbury, named Kemer, a man approved of as expert and notable in "the craft of medecine," was, by order of Parliament, sent "to wait upon the King at Windsor, "he being (as the doctor was well aware) labouring "under sickness and infirmities."

Henry was, notwithstanding all this, still capable of attending to public affairs at times, as the proceedings of the period show; many things being referred to him by the Council. He also declared his son, the young Edward, to be Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, and passed an act of resumption of all grants made since the first year of his reign.

Parliament was prorogued on the 13th of December to the 14th of January following, partly on account of the departure of the Duke of York, who was compelled to repair into the west, to quell the riots and rebellion which were giving rise to murders and various crimes in that part of the kingdom. While the "Protectorate" lasted, the King was obliged to approve of the conduct of the Duke, however despotic, and to commit the sole direction of affairs into his hands.

The Earl of Salisbury at this time surrendered the King's Great Seal of silver, and two others also, one of gold, and the other of silver. On the 7th of March, 1455, these three seals were by the King placed in the charge of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the oath of Chancellor.* In the late Parliament the Duke of York had caused a bill to be passed, granting to Queen Margaret for life an annual pension of £1,000, to be drawn from the rights and imposts of the customs of the port of Southampton, and from several manors and heritages in the counties of Northampton, Southampton, and Oxfordshire. The Protector at the same time committed the care of the King during his sickness, and of her infant son, to the Queen, and assigned their residence at Hertford. Margaret was not in a position to resist this arrangement, and she seemed to be absorbed in her duty and solicitude as a wife and mother; but ere long she found means to repair with her husband and child to Greenwich, where she speedily assembled her friends around her. 1455. 1455.

During these times the election of members for the House of Commons, even for counties, was much influenced by the great men of the day. Thus we find the Duke of York, while in the exercise of chief authority, meeting by appointment the Duke of Norfolk at Bury St. Edmunds, passed there a day with this staunch adherent of his cause, and they together determined on the persons whom they chose to be returned as knights of the shire for the county of Norfolk. A schedule of the intention of the Duke, with the names of those chosen, was forwarded to Sir John Paston by the 18th of October this year, 1455,

* Baker; Holinshed; Sandford; Carte; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Milles's Catalogue; Rot. Parl.; Stow; Sir H. Nicolas' *Proceedings of Privy Council*; Paston Letters; Hallam; Pol. Vergil; Howel; Daniel and Trussel; Wethamstede; Lingard.

by the Earl of Oxford. This noble Earl had ever been faithfully a Lancastrian, but he had just married the daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, knight, and the lady's possessions were at Winch, in Norfolk, from which place the above letter was dated. The Earl had joined the party of the Duke of York (who had not yet advanced his claims to the crown), and he, therefore, resolved to second his intentions. When he became, however, acquainted with the Duke's ambition and treasonable purpose, Oxford reverted to his former allegiance.*

1455.
Paston
Letters ;
Holinshed.

During this season, when the Yorkists openly triumphed, they ventured even to accuse some of the friends of the House of Lancaster with being guilty of numerous outrages and offences. They openly charged Lord Scales, Sir Thomas Todenham, Sir Miles Stapylton, and John Heydon, of being confederate together and causing riots, so that, but for the care and loyalty of the Yorkists, much evil would have arisen amongst the liege subjects of the King during their late stay at Norwich.

The Duke of York and his party contrived to put aside from the Council all those "whom the King "loved or the Queen favoured," and substituted others more disposed to their own views. All public offices were supplied in like manner, until the three Richards (York, Salisbury, and Warwick), like the famed triumvirate of old, governed all things according to their own will and pleasure. Some writers affirm that it was in order to exercise their despotic rule, and to be able to deprive King Henry of his kingdom, or his life, when they pleased, that they removed his former counsellors and substituted others. However this might be, justice was duly administered and no bribery allowed ; the only complaint was made by the

* Paston Letters.

Abbot of Westminster, on account of the removal from the sanctuary of Westminster of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, whom they had dismissed to the Castle of Pomfret. They also released from sanctuary Sir William Oldhall, a follower of Wickliff.*

The meek Henry listened to the various arguments of the Yorkists in excuse for their proceedings. He affected to believe them, and even acquitted them of disloyalty, pardoned their offences, and received from his peers their renewed oaths of fealty.

These lords, however, upon the same day that they had assured their captive monarch of their allegiance, quarrelled amongst themselves. Some high words passed between the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cromwell in the King's presence, each seeking to excuse his own conduct relative to the battle of St. Alban's; at length, on Warwick accusing Lord Cromwell of being the first instigator of the late rebellion, so much anger was excited, that, fearing some danger to himself, Cromwell made an appeal to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, for his protection, lodged him in the Hospital of St. James's, beside the Mews.†

The spirit of contention was spreading through the metropolis; civil commotions disturbed the peace of the city. The lawless inhabitants of St. Martin's exhibited at this time more boldness and audacity than they had done before. In a body they issued forth on one occasion, and assaulted and wounded several of the citizens, and then withdrew into the Sanctuary. The Mayor and Aldermen, heading the citizens, forced open the gates of St. Martin's, and secured the ring-leaders. The Dean complained of breach of privilege; and the King sent for the Mayor to come to him, in

1455.

* Pol. Vergil; Baker; Holinshed; Sandford; Paston Letters; Stow; Rymer; Lingard.

† Stow; Rot. Parl.; Carte; Paston Letters; Lingard.

Hertfordshire; but more respect was afterwards shown to the citizens, who detained their prisoners until a further investigation of the affair. Another serious affray occurred in the following year, between the citizens and the foreigners residing in London, when the men of the Sanctuary joined in the plunder of the unfortunate strangers.*

It would be difficult to exhibit faithfully the convulsed and agitated state of society in England during this brief season, the Protectorate of York.

After the battle of St. Alban's continual quarrels arose between the two parties, the first being that between Warwick and Cromwell before the King. From this time the Yorkists, ever apprehensive of some danger to themselves, wore armour in the streets, and carried offensive weapons in their barges. It was in vain that the King forbade this hostile array. The fierce spirit of the two factions was so easily excited, that even upon an idle rumour they drew their swords, and were ready to shed each other's blood. Gradually the same state of public feeling and excitement spread throughout the kingdom, and lawlessness and anarchy became general. The nobles, thirsting for each other's possessions, and setting no bounds to their ambition or to their private pique, seemed to be no longer amenable to justice or to the laws. The age of barbarism appeared to have returned.

The remote parts of England were no less troubled with frequent riots and depredations; and in the west, the ancient feud of Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and William, Lord Bonville of Shute, still threatened to involve in its pitiless fury even the innocent, as victims of party rage. The affray between these two noble-men, which caused great consternation, occurred upon

* Paston Letters.

Cliftheath, near Exeter.* The occasion of their quarrel was but trivial; some say a dog, others a couple of hounds; but no mediation of friends could appease the wrath of these noblemen, until a single combat had ensued at Cliftheath, and ultimately many were slain, or wounded, on both sides. Lord Bonville was victorious, and soon after came to Exeter to take shelter, when the citizens threw open their gates to receive him, at which the Earl of Devonshire took such displeasure, thinking that it was done out of disrespect to himself, that he constantly, from that time, endeavoured to be revenged.†

It is a painful task for the truthful historian to narrate the instances of summary vengeance too often taken by the turbulent leaders of factions. A melancholy record exhibits one of the results of this feud.

When the variance between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devonshire had continued many days, and, as the chronicler adds, "much debate was like to grow thereby," on the 23rd of October, at night, the son of the Earl of Devonshire came, accompanied by sixty "men-at-arms," to Radford's Place, in Devonshire. Nicholas Radford, who was an eminent lawyer, lived at Poghill, near Kyrton. This infirm old man, an adherent of Bonville, was prevailed upon by some stratagem to open his gates to this party, who plundered his residence, and after various kinds of ill-treatment, barbarously murdered him. This conduct, directed by the son and heir of the Earl of Devonshire, shows the lawless violence of the times.‡

These outrages demanded the prompt attention of

* Some date this affray in 1453. W. of Worcester tells us that Bonville was besieged in Taunton Castle by this earl, and that the Duke of York, with Lord Moleyns, William Herbert, and others took them by surprise, after which Bonville joined the Yorkists.

† Holinshed; Izaacke's Exeter; Worthies of Devon.

‡ Paston Letters; Carte.

the "Protector," who repaired immediately to the West, to put an end to the tumults and appease the two irascible noblemen, and to terminate their quarrel. In all these his endeavours at pacification the Duke of York was successful, but his absence from the metropolis greatly favoured the party of the Lancastrians, which was now beginning to recover some of its former influence.

1455. The activity of Queen Margaret, when not engaged in warfare, is very remarkable. She was always indefatigable in visiting the places where she hoped to find succour, or in forming acquaintance with such persons as were likely to assist her cause. In her progress this year, the Queen honoured the city of Chester* with her presence; she was accompanied by many lords and ladies, and was graciously received and welcomed by the mayor and the citizens.†

1455.
Izaacke's
Chester.

It was on the 25th of November of this year that George Neville, the second son of the Earl of Salisbury, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Chester, being, at that time, not quite twenty years of age. Five years afterwards he was made Lord Chancellor.‡

The beauty and wit of Queen Margaret, aided by her intellectual qualities, rendered her condescensions agreeable to all classes of her subjects to whom she made herself known. She was fond of learning, and acquainted with all those accomplishments which in her age were deemed desirable for a woman to possess; and these, doubtless, contributed to endear her to the King, her husband, and gave her such great influence over his mind, which influence, we are told, was unbounded.

Henry the Sixth, himself a learned prince, found in

* Some writers say that this progress of Queen Margaret was in 1453.

† Holinshed; Annals of Chester; Harl. MSS.; Lysons' Mag. Brit.; Heningay's Hist. of Chester.

‡ Izaacke's Chester.

his beloved consort an agreeable companion, and one who could assist and participate in his favourite studies. It may therefore be presumed that their frequent progresses through the country were peculiarly pleasing to King Henry, and no less gratifying to the Queen, had not the anxiety she had begun to feel for the safety of her crown, served to counterbalance her enjoyments. The style and manner in which King Henry addresses the Queen, and their confidence, which appears to have been mutual, is pleasing to dwell upon. The King writes, concerning the woods of Kenilworth (included with others in the dowry of Margaret), and which were entirely under her control, "Right dere and right
 "entirely best beloved wyf, we grete you hertly. And
 "forasmuche as We, of oure grace especiall, have
 "granted unto John Barham X oks for tymbre, to be
 "taken in your outwods of Kenelworth, of our yefte, We
 "therefore desire and praye you, that ye wol see that
 "the said John may have delyverance of the said oks,
 "after th' entent of oure saide grante, etc., etc.
 "Yeven, etc., the yere of oure reign, xxvii. (1449).

"To our right dere wyf the Queen."*

Queen Margaret went to visit her favourite city of Coventry in 1455, accompanied by King Henry and her little son. She arrived there on the Feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross; and many curious and quaint pageants were exhibited at her reception. 1455.
Lysius.

At the gate she was addressed by Isaiah and Jeremiah, as Empress and Queen; and they also congratulated her on the birth of her son. Also, at the church gate, King Edward the Confessor, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Margaret, each addressed the Queen and Prince in verse; and these lines, from their singularity, have been deemed worthy of recording. They run thus:—

* Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou, edited by Cecil Monroe.

(*St. Edward.*) “Model of mekenes, dame Margarete, princess most excellent,
 “I, King Edward, welknowe you with affection cordial,
 “Testefying to your highnes mekely myne intent
 “For the wele of the King and you, hertily pray I shall
 “And for prince Edward my gostly chyldre, who I love principal,
 “Praying the, John Evangelist, my help therin to be
 “On that condition right humbly I give this ring to thee.”

(*John Evangelist.*) “Holy Edward, crowned king, brother in verginity,
 “My power plainly I will prefer thy will to amplefy,
 “Most excellent princes of wymen mortal, your bedeman will I be.
 “I know your life so virtuous that God is pleased thereby
 “The birth of you unto this rene shall cause great melody :
 “The virtuous voice of prince Edward shall dayly well encrease,
 “St. Edward his godfader, and I shall pray therefore doubtlesse.”

(*St. Margaret*) “Most notable princes of wymen earthle, Dame Margarete, the
 chiefe myrth of this cypre,
 “Ye be hertely welcome to this cye.
 “To the plesure of your highnesse I will set my desyre ;
 “Both nature and gentleness doth me require,
 “Sith we be both of one name, to shew you kindness ;
 “Wherefore by my power ye shall have no distress.
 “I shall pray to the Prince that is endlese,
 “To sucour you with solas of his high grace ;
 “He will here my petition, this is doubtlesse,
 “For I wrought all my life that, his will wase,
 “Therefore lady, when you be in any dreadful case,
 “Call on me boldly therefore I pray you,
 “And trust in me feythfully, I will do that may pay you.” *

There was also a pageant of the nine worthies, in which “Hector welcomed her tenderly,” and at the cross were “divers angels.”

Joshua promised to fight for her as “knyghte for
 “hys ladye,” and David enlogized her many virtues. The conduit was “arraied” “with as many vergyns
 “as might stande thereon,” and a “grete dragon,
 “breathing flames, and St. Margaret killing him” (as in her legend), at the same time assuring her namesake
 “quean that, both nature and gentilness bound her
 “to do all kindness to Margaret of Anjou.”

The city of Coventry was at this time well worthy of royal notice. In the ancient records it is called the

* Warton's Eng. Poetry.

“Prince’s Chamber,”* and it was chosen to be one of the first visited by the infant Edward. The notice of its fair sovereign also obtained for this city the appellation of the “Queen’s Chamber,” and that it was particularly favoured by Queen Margaret is evident, from its being likewise styled the “secret harbour,” or “bower” of that Queen.

When Henry VI. came to Coventry in 1451, he constituted this city with the contiguous district into a separate county, independent of the county of Warwick. He also conferred many favours on Coventry at that time. He created the first sheriff, and presented a gown of cloth of gold to St. Michael’s church, where he attended mass. Coventry was the resort of devotees, and had numerous splendid religious buildings, and its massive embattled walls were in high state of preservation. Its merchants, too, were spirited and enterprising, as well as rich and generous. The citizens of Coventry zealously supported King Henry in all the contests between the two Houses of York and Lancaster, and vainly did King Edward IV. seek to win over that city, when he came in 1465, and kept festival there. He could not shake the fidelity of the inhabitants to their beloved monarch.

The most beautiful buildings of Coventry were erected during the reign of Henry VI., and of these the body of St. Michael’s Church and St. Mary’s Hall are the most remarkable. Within the hall of St. Mary’s were portrayed, on the splendid tapestry with which it was adorned, the portraits of King Henry and his consort, each with their attendants; and as the tapestry was made, and affixed there, during the

* London was then called the “King’s Chamber,” or “Camera Regia,” a title, Camden tells us, it obtained soon after the Conquest. Lydgate, writing of London, says, “The King’s Chambre of custom, men the calle.”

lifetime of these sovereigns, the portraits may be regarded as authentic.

1456.

The chief purpose of the Queen's visit to Coventry appears to have been to remove and guard the King from the machinations of the Yorkists.* Queen Margaret also went to Bristol, in 1456, with many of the nobility, and was received there with much honour and well entertained.†

In this year she likewise revisited Chester, and by her courtesy and regal hospitality, gained the hearts of the people of that city.‡ While the Queen was at Chester King Henry remained at Shene, having as his only companion his half-brother the Earl of Pembroke, whilst the Earl of Richmond, his other brother, and Griffith were engaged in war in Wales.§

The Earl of Warwick was at Warwick about this time, and the Duke of Buckingham at Writtle. The Earl of Salisbury, who was Chancellor and Treasurer, was the only lord who was staying in London on the day of the commencement of the great Council. As for the Duke of York, though Calais and Guisnes were threatened with siege, and many fleets upon the seas; though Kentish men were again rebellious and "much in doing" amongst them; yet, says the writer of these "novelties," "my Lord of York is still at Sandall, and waiteth on the Queen, and she upon him." Their mutual suspicion made them watch each other's movements.

The Duke of York, after having established his authority as Protector, made no further attempts to

* Hall; Lond. Chron.; Pennant; Fabian; Henry; Smith's Costume of Brit.; Encyclopædia Britannica.

† Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol.

‡ Heningay's Chester.

§ The Earl of Richmond died in November of 1456. He had married, about the year 1455, Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and their son was but an infant at his father's death. He afterwards conquered Richard III. and succeeded to the English throne.

advance himself, but gave himself up to a life of apparent security and indifference, which surprised even his enemies ; and whilst he permitted the King and Queen to remain at liberty, he vainly imagined that they could not deprive him of the Protectorate.

Thinking it too dangerous to lay open claims to a crown which, for fifty-six years had been worn by the Lancastrians, he contentedly awaited a more favourable season for the consummation of his ambitious projects ; meanwhile, seeking to secure the favour of the people, as the only certain means for its attainment. By a show of equity and moderation, the Duke sought to win the affections of the people, and to undermine the Queen's credit ; yet the irresolution which he manifested at the same time, served to balance the power between the two parties ; for, while it restrained him from openly asserting his claims to the crown, at so favourable a juncture, it no less permitted the Queen to preserve her influence by means of her superior energy and firmness of character.

Queen Margaret easily penetrated the design of her adversary, and was not slow in exerting herself to disappoint it. Her lofty and enterprising spirit was not discouraged by difficulty or danger, and she sought every opportunity to oppose the pretensions of the Duke. Displeased with the late proceedings, the Queen endeavoured to excite a spirit of resistance in the Lords of her party, representing to Humphry Duke of Buckingham, that these traitors had slain his son at St. Alban's, and to Henry, Duke of Somerset, who had succeeded his father in the dukedom, that it was these rebels who had also killed his father. Both these noblemen were attached to their King, and grieved at his adverse situation ; and they reminded the Queen of the indignity done to her by the Yorkists, in depriving her husband, King Henry of all authority,

while they ruled themselves with despotic power ; thus they sought to rouse her to opposition. Most of the Lancastrian Lords, being well aware of the intentions of the Duke of York, which only waited a fitting time for execution, were eager to oppose his attempts at the crown, and had resolved to take some steps against the usurper. Some writers say that the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, with other Lords, first went to Queen Margaret secretly, and acquainted her with their determination, representing to her that the Duke of York sought to deceive the King, and even, unawares, to kill him ; and they urged her timely exertions to prevent these evil consequences, and required her to remove King Henry from these wicked counsellors. Upon this admonition, Queen Margaret, who was much affected, and alarmed for her own and her husband's safety, seized the opportunity, not many days after, to prevail upon the King, under pretence of seeking a more wholesome residence, to repair to Coventry.

This city was ever devoted to the interests of Queen Margaret ; and afforded her a haven of refuge in all the political storms which threatened to destroy her peace, or her life. It was in this city that King Henry, perceiving his imminent peril at this time, assembled his friends and adherents, and took measures for his future safety. After mature deliberation it was resolved that the Duke of York should be deprived of his office as "Protector," and the Earl of Salisbury of his, as Chancellor. By command of the Queen a Council was called for this purpose, to assemble at Greenwich.*

It was not to be expected that the Queen would suffer the Duke of York to retain very long his office,

* Holinshed ; Sandford ; Baker ; Stow ; Milles's Catalogue ; Rapin ; Pol. Vergil ; Lingard ; Hume.

which gave him such great influence in the kingdom; and she soon found a pretext for his removal in the restoration of the King's health. During a temporary absence of the Duke, Queen Margaret caused the King to appear in Council, and there, after stating that, by the grace of God, he had been restored to health, and found himself again able to undertake the government of the kingdom, he demanded the Duke of York's resignation.

1456.
Rapin.
Hume ;
Lingard ;
Henry.

The members of Parliament who were present readily agreed to the dismissal of the Duke, either considering this demand was reasonable, or being secretly won over by the royalists.*

The Duke of York was accordingly deprived of his office on the 25th of February, 1456, and the Earl of Salisbury displaced. These noblemen, as well as the Earl of Warwick, were summoned to appear before the Council, at Greenwich, but they did not obey the command, affirming "that no power could call them "to account."† The unconcern of the Duke had arisen from the opinion of his security in his office of "Protector:" he was therefore thunderstruck on finding himself so suddenly, and unexpectedly, removed from his dignity; but, conscious that the power which had effected it was too strong to be overcome, he smothered his resentment, and appeared to acquiesce in the new arrangement. His friends followed his example; and, under the plea, that they had no employment at Court, they all, soon afterwards, withdrew into Yorkshire. Here frequent conferences were held by Salisbury and Warwick with the Duke of York; and Queen Margaret, fearing some treason, resolved to break their confederacy.‡ Queen Mar-

* Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Nicolas's Acts of Privy Council. † Sandford; Baker; Lingard; Fabian.

‡ Pol. Vergil; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; Holinshed; Sir H. Nicolas's Proceedings of Council.

garet called to the royal Council the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, and Thomas Bouchiere, on the 11th of October, resigned the Chancellorship to Waynfleet, his personal friend. The gentle character of Henry VI. had preserved him many friends, who were unwilling to see him deprived of his authority. The sudden change, however, from the administration of the Yorkists to that of Queen Margaret, who governed again entirely according to her own will and pleasure, occasioned some commotions in London, where the majority favoured the Duke of York. So powerful, indeed, was this faction, that the Queen could not proceed against the Duke in that city, and even judged the person of the King unsafe in the capital.

1456.
Paston
Letters.

Some disturbances had arisen there on 15th May, between the citizens and some merchants of Lombardy, which she suspected had been raised by the Yorkists. It is indeed probable that the leaders of this party took some share in these turmoils, of which many false reports were circulated; viz., that Lord Beaumont was slain, the Earl of Warwick much hurt, that 1,000 men were killed, and six score knights and esquires wounded. Two of the Lombards were hanged, and peace was restored.

The King was at this time still at Shene,* and the

* It has been said that no trace can be found of Henry VI. having been at Shene; the following letter, however, shows that both King Henry and Queen Margaret did resort thither, at any rate for hunting:—

“By the Quene,

“Trusty and welbeloved, for as moche as we suppose that in
“short tyme, we shall come right negh unto my lord’s manoir of Shene, we
“desire and praye you hertly that ye will kepe ayeinst one resortinge
“thedre. for our disporte and recreation, two or iii of the gretest bukkes in
“my lord’s parc there, saving alwayes my lord’s owne commandment there
“in his presence. As we trust, etc. To my lord’s squier and ours, J. B.,
“Keper of Shene Parke, or his depute there.”

There is no means of fixing the date of this letter.—*Letters of Queen Margaret, edited by Cecil Monro.*

Queen and Prince at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, or, as most of the historians say, at Coventry.*

In this year there appears to have been a little respite from domestic feuds, but the alarm and mistrust was still general, and these were doubtless augmented by the frequent incursions of foreign enemies. 1457.
Baker ;
Rapin.

A party of Bretons first landed on the coasts, and committed some depredations, but was repulsed. Then, the French, taking advantage of the divisions among the English nobility, made an attempt at Fulney, or Foy,† in Cornwall, and plundered this town and some others. This expedition was conducted by William, Lord Poinyers. Another, and a more considerable invasion, on the part of the French, was headed by Pierre de Brézé, whose forces amounted to 1,500 men, but after doing some injury at Sandwich, they were compelled to depart.‡

The French historians have furnished us with very minute details of this descent upon Sandwich, which they considered reflected much glory on their countrymen. They inform us, that the chief originator of this enterprise was the Queen of England. It may not be uninteresting to trace these details ; for, in so doing, we become acquainted with the source of this movement, the Queen's motives, and the great power of the Duke of York, at this early commencement of the civil contest.§

It was during the King's inability to govern, owing to his indisposition, that the Duke of York obtained supreme authority, in the year 1454; when, taking advantage of his high position, he showed great favour to the family of Douglas, in opposition to the Scottish monarch James II., who, in conjunction with France, maintained the interests of Henry VI.

* Stow ; Holinshed ; Rapin.

† Fowey.

‡ Monstrelet.

§ Baker ; Howel ; Stow ; London Chron. ; Monstrelet ; Paston Letters.

The Earl of Douglas, in rebellion with his own sovereign, sought the protection and allegiance of the King of England.* By the Yorkists he was freely admitted to the titles of an English subject, and a pension granted him for his services until he should recover his estates, of which King James had deprived him. This monarch was enraged at the reception of Douglas in this country; and, entering the northern counties, ravaged Northumberland with fire and sword, and levelled many castles with the ground.

Hearing of the recovery of King Henry, in 1455, that monarch intended to dismiss an embassy to England, but when the battle of St. Alban's restored the power of the Yorkists, he abandoned his purpose. No sooner, however, did the Lancastrians resume their authority, than the Scots negotiated a truce with this country, which was signed at Coventry in 1457, to be continued until July, 1459.†

1457.
Pinkerton.

Queen Margaret on her part must have been anxious to form close ties with Scotland, and by every possible means to counteract the growing power of that party, whose rebellious spirit even threatened to desolate the kingdom. It is evident from the preceding circumstances how much the Duke of York must have incensed the Queen and her party by his astonishing boldness, in giving shelter to the Scottish chief, and by this act, exciting a warfare with the sister-kingdom, in opposition to the efforts of the royalists to preserve peace. We are told that Queen Margaret, perceiving the force of the tide against her, thought to make a diversion in her own favour, by means of a descent of the French on the English coast, hoping by their assistance to injure, if not to destroy, the faction of York.‡

* Douglas continued in this allegiance until the reign of Richard III.

† Pinkerton.

‡ Daniel's Hist. of France; Monstrelet.

To accomplish her purpose, the Queen interposed the influence of her father, René of Anjou, and her uncle the Count of Maine, who together incited the King of France to this enterprise. It was confided to Pierre de Brézé, the Seneschal of Normandy, who was accompanied by the bailiff of Evreux, and many other lords and men-at-arms.

They sailed with a fleet equipped at Honfleur, consisting of 4000 soldiers. They set out on the 20th of August, and were driven into Nantes by stress of weather; thus they did not reach the coast of England until the 28th of August, of this year 1457. De Brézé landed two leagues from Sandwich, and dividing his troops into three bodies, each having a brave leader, he commanded them to attack the town on the land side, while he endeavoured to force the place by the port.

1457.
Daniel;
Monstrelet.

The English were totally unprepared for this assault. There were in this port three vessels of war, of the largest size, and several smaller ones, filled with troops, who resolved to fight desperately. A herald was sent to them by De Brézé, to inform them that if they fired a single cannon, or drew a bow, they should have no quarter; but that, if they ceased from hostilities, he would allow them to quit their vessels uninjured. These conditions were accepted. The Seneschal made his descent with great order and vigour; and the port was taken by Pierre de Louvaine. The resistance was greater on the land side, and many were slain; but the French, sword in hand, entered the town; and about the same time that the port was taken, a fierce and bloody combat ensued, the English defending their town with great courage; but at last they yielded, and the invaders hoisted their banners on the gates, under which they formed themselves in battle array, and for ten hours the bailiff of Evreux with some troops

guarded the city without, while the town was pillaged by those who had entered it.

The Seneschal upon this occasion justified the renown he had acquired. He forbade his followers, under pain of death, to touch the effects of the churches, to set fire to the houses, to attempt the honour of the women, or to kill any one in cold blood, all which commands were strictly obeyed. A moderation, so unusual in those times, obtained for this general the commendations, even of his enemies. The English hastened from all parts in great numbers to the aid of the town, and skirmishes were kept up for six hours; many were slain on both sides, but at last the French made a retreat. They effected this with much order, carrying off considerable booty and many prisoners, who were afterwards ransomed. In this attack 300 of the English were killed, but only thirty of the French troops, whose numbers amounted, according to Monstrelet, to between 1600 and 1800^{*} combatants.

Besides the Seneschal, all who shared in this enterprise gained great renown by it, and as a reward for their valour, twenty of them were honoured with knighthood.

This expedition produced, in part, the effect which the Queen had expected. To guard their coasts, the English removed from the frontiers of Scotland, but the terror of the arms of France was not enough to reunite the two powerful factions of York and Lancaster.†

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, on the 2nd of April, in 1457, had the great seal delivered to him. Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, died this year, who was a son of the Earl of Westmoreland: he had filled this office nineteen years. Laurence Booth was then consecrated on the 15th of September, and filled his

* Other writers say 1500.

† Daniel; Carte; Monstrelet; Paston Letters; Davies's Eng. Chron.

place as Bishop of Durham. He afterwards became Lord Chancellor. He built the gates of the College at Auckland at his own expense, and was, twenty years later, translated to York.*

Several authors relate, that in this year, or in the beginning of 1458, the Earl of Devonshire was put to death in the Abbey of Abingdon by means of poison. He was at that time with Queen Margaret, and his life, it is said, was sacrificed to appease the malice between the young lords (whose fathers were slain at St. Alban's), and those who adhered to the Duke of York.†

1457.
Davies's
Chron.

Perceiving the small respect paid to her party by the Londoners, Queen Margaret persuaded the King to make a progress into Warwickshire, under pretence of benefiting his health, and affording him recreation. The King set out, amusing himself with hunting and hawking by the way, and the Queen was apparently occupied with nothing but these pastimes. Amidst these sports, however, and while they stayed at Coventry, Margaret did not forget her projects for displacing and getting rid of her enemies. She dismissed kind letters to the Duke of York and his friends, who had retired into the north, requiring their immediate presence at the court, then held at Coventry, to consult on a matter of great importance.

1457.
Baker ;
Lingard ;
Hume.

In giving this invitation to the rebellious lords, the Queen has been accused of having formed some design against them ; and that, finding herself at the head of a feeble government, totally unable to take any vigorous measures by which to restore tranquillity to the kingdom, she allowed her fears, or her hatred, to prevail over the nobler feelings of her nature, and sought to get rid of her enemies by treacherous means.

* Paston Letters ; Antiquities of Durham ; Carter's Cambridge.

† Holinshed ; Stow ; Davies's Eng. Chron.

To effect this object, she is said to have removed the King to Coventry, where, it was probable, less favour would be shown to the rebellious lords than in the capital.* It may be alleged as some excuse for this attempt, if indeed this charge be true (for it has not been explained), that the Duke of York was an enemy the more dangerous, inasmuch as his designs were not openly asserted; and the caution with which he proceeded, colouring his actions with a view to the public good, prevented any legal steps being taken against him. He had indeed become a formidable adversary, it being impossible to prove anything against him.

His intentions, however, though disguised from the public, could not be so easily concealed from Queen Margaret, who was so deeply interested in opposing him, and who possessed such talents and penetration.† The Duke of York was aware of this; and it argues much in the Queen's favour, that he set out without any apprehension of danger, accompanied by his two friends, Salisbury and Warwick, in order to obey her royal commands and repair to Coventry.

These partisans even flattered themselves that the King had at last discovered the mismanagement of his counsellors, and required their presence, to assist him in forming new arrangements; but they were quickly undeceived. On their way they were met by some secret messengers, who assured them that they would be unsafe in the city to which they were proceeding. This intelligence arrested the progress of these lords, who instantly concerted new plans; and they all separated. The Duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore, in Wales; the Earl of Salisbury to Middleham, in Yorkshire; and the Earl of Warwick to Calais,

* Holinshed; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Daniel and Trussel.

† Rapin; Paston Letters.

of which town he had been appointed Governor after the battle of St. Alban's. The Queen, it is said, was much disappointed at having failed in the snare she had laid for her enemies; but she was consoled in having separated them, which, for a time, made their power less dangerous.*

The Earl of Salisbury afterwards feigned sickness, to avoid putting himself in the power of the King and Queen.

1457

The peace with foreign nations had been restored, but the intestine divisions continued. The prejudice against the Queen and her ministers increased. The young Duke of Somerset seemed to fill the same position which his father had so lately occupied, and with it shared the same ill-will of the nation; every failure or disappointment being attributed to the misconduct of the ministers.†

Amongst the many tumults and commotions which occurred throughout the land was a great affray in the north, which took place this year, 1457, between Sir Thomas Percy, Lord Egremond, and the sons of the Earl of Salisbury, in which many were wounded and slain. Lord Egremond was taken, and sentenced to pay large sums of money to the Earl of Salisbury, and meanwhile was committed to Newgate; but Lord Egremond soon after escaped with his brother, Sir Richard Percy, out of this prison in the night and went to the King. "The other prisoners took the leads of the gate, and defended it for a great while against the sheriffs and all their officers," so that they were compelled to call in more aid from the citizens to subdue them, in which they at last succeeded, and "laid them in irons."‡

1457.

* Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Paston Letters; Daniel and Trussell.

† Rymer; Holinshed; Fabyan; Pinkerton; Rapin.

‡ Stow; Fabyan; Holinshed; London Chron.; Daniel and Trussell.

During this unhappy period the spirit of rebellion had prevailed in Ireland no less than in England. In this reign the Earl of Ormond, as Lord Lieutenant, was first employed against the Earl of Desmond, who affected the state of an independent prince in Ireland, and prevailed so far as to get Ormond removed from office.

John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded him, and united with Desmond in accusing the late Governor of many crimes; but the King refused to listen to these charges, and took no measures against the Earl, and hence, it is believed, arose the lasting attachments of the Butler family to the House of Lancaster.

The effect, however, of these turbulent and unprincipled factions was that the spirit of party prevailed, even in the King's Council and courts, and no business was allowed free progress or execution in law, when it touched any of the said two parties.

One of the most violent of Ormond's accusers was Thomas Fits-Thomas, the prior of Kilmainham, who having impeached him for treason the Earl appealed to arms, and a day was fixed for the combat which should decide their quarrel. Ormond was permitted to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield "for his breathing and more ease," and in order to prepare and train himself for the fight, while the pugnacious prior was engaged in this interval in learning "certain points of arms" from Philip Treherne, a fishmonger of London, who was paid by the King for giving these instructions. The parties met on the ground as appointed, but, at the moment of encounter, the King stopped the fight and took the quarrel into his own hands—it is said through the instance of Worthington.*

At this period the doctrines of Wickliff had begun to be disseminated in England, and all, whose opinions

* Moore's Ireland; Stow.

favoured the Reformer, were subjected to controversy. The persecutions of the Lollards in the previous reign had doubtless originated many of the contests and disagreements in the times of Henry VI., occasioned by the resentment of this party against the House of Lancaster. The strife produced by the political leaders in the kingdom was not a little augmented by the contentions in the Church, as if adding fuel to the flame.

A new doctrine had just emanated from the Papal See, viz., that the *Pope was the source of all power*, to whom all Bishops were subordinate, even as his delegates; and, at a time when the English clergy were seeking to maintain the liberty of the Church, one of the Bishops, more talented and more vain than the others, became a strenuous advocate and supporter of the Pope. This secular doctor of divinity had laboured many years to translate the Holy Scriptures into English, and was accused of having passed the bounds of Christian belief in certain articles, and of dissent from the established creed. These opinions, which were deemed heretical, Reginald Peacock* came forward to maintain, and with much display of learning and eloquence he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in 1447, in support of the decision of His Holiness. In the year 1458 the ostentatious prelate was compelled to abjure, at St. Paul's Cross, before which his books were burnt, and he was sentenced to confinement for life. He was deprived of his bishopric, and a pension assigned him to live upon in an abbey.†

1458.

Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, is described as being of an ardent temperament, a logical mind, and a powerful imagination. He looked with contempt

* A Welshman by birth, Reginald Peacock became a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1417. He was a student of divinity, and distinguished for his talents. He was appointed to the See of Asaph in 1444, and consecrated by Archbishop Stafford.

† Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Baker; Dr. Hook's Archbishops; Stow.

on the intellectual abilities of others, and liked to perplex them, sometimes speaking ironically, sometimes in earnest. Such a character might advance false doctrine, and he was proclaimed a heretic. He had at one time been befriended by the Duke of Gloucester, who was ever temperate in his line of conduct towards those who professed the doctrines of Wickliffe. The opinions of Peacock, and his vanity and sarcasm, soon raised him many enemies: all classes condemned him. By exalting the Pope, and thus disregarding the established laws of the land, he raised such indignation amongst the clergy, that he was summoned before the Primate to have his writings investigated; but Archbishop Stafford, having himself yielded to the new doctrine of papal supremacy, allowed Peacock to escape censure at this time. Boucliere, however, afterwards acted with great severity towards him. He caused him to appear before him, William Waynflete being present and other bishops and prelates, at Lambeth, where they condemned his writings as heretical. We are told that this was a "party movement to deprive "the Lancastrians of a spirited writer." One charge against him was that he sought to affect a change in the religion of England, by the introduction of Popery, or Ultramontaniam. Even more than this was inferred, from a letter addressed by Peacock to the Mayor of London, viz., that his design was not only to excite the people to a change of faith, but to raise an insurrection. Thus it became a political offence, and he was again cited to appear before a Council at Westminster, at which King Henry was present. This was towards the close of the year 1457, when such hostility was shown towards him, that he was compelled to withdraw before the temporal Bishops could proceed with their business. This was a full council and the Yorkists were powerful, and an attack on the unfor-

tunate prelate had been previously arranged. Certain doctors of divinity arrived, who demanded of the Archbishop copies of the works of the Bishop of Chichester, in order to examine them. Finally, being required to abjure, or to suffer the punishment of a heretic, Peacock decided on the former. The court adjourned until the next day, when doubtless some political feeling swelled the tide of inveterate anger which rose against this talented and apparently good man. On the 3rd of December the Archbishop, his assessors, and the twenty-four divines, were again sitting in Lambeth Chapel. The Bishop of Chichester was summoned, and repaired thither to abjure, in a positive form, the condemned conclusions. The court again "adjourned to meet on the following day, when a solemn assembly was to be held at St. Paul's."

"Here the Primate attended, his cross borne before him, and he appeared, accompanied by the Bishops of London, of Durham, and of Chichester. An immense crowd surrounded the Cathedral. From the great west door the bishops, in full pontificals, were seen to come forth; one by one each silently and sadly took the seat assigned to him at St. Paul's Cross. Before the cross a fire blazed. When the Archbishop was seated, he turned a silent look towards the Bishop of Chichester. Peacock was seen the next moment prostrate at the Primate's feet. His voice could not be distinctly heard; but his attitude notified to the spectators that he was making his public recantation. The Primate was motionless. Peacock rose from the ground and stood before the pyre. One by one his books were brought forth, the labour of years, containing some of the most powerful writings of the day; eleven quarto volumes and three folio volumes were handed by him to the

“public executioner, whose ruthless hands committed
“them to the flames.

“The only consolation was that they had been
“transcribed, and that transcriptions of them might
“be hereafter produced. But the ascending flames
“ignited the passions of the surrounding multitude.
“The assembled people were inflamed into fury against
“the man who exalted the Pope above the Church,
“and denounced the statutes, by which papal aggres-
“sions had been restrained. The bishops, the lords,
“the commons, the people all condemned Peacock.
“The infuriated mob rushed towards the unfortunate
“prelate, and sought to hurl him into the flames which
“were consuming his books. The Archbishop and
“the civil authorities interfered to preserve order.
“Peacock trembled, and, while looking on the martyr-
“dom of his books, he was heard to say, ‘My pride
“and presumption have brought upon me these trou-
“bles and reproaches.’ ”

The Primate was still unsatisfied. Peacock was deprived of his See of Chichester, and sent a prisoner first to Cambridge, then to Maidstone.

Finding that his moral degradation did not appease his enemies, Peacock resolved to resist them. He appealed to the Pope, in whose cause he had suffered; and was responded to by His Holiness. “Forth came fulminating from Rome three bulls, directed against the Primate of England, in vindication of the Bishop of Chichester.” Bouchiere refused these bulls; and, in spite of the Pope, Peacock was degraded, and another appointed his successor, while he was placed in stricter confinement,* and subsequently he ended his life in prison.

* He was placed in a secret chamber with one attendant, and “allowed
“no books, but a breviary, a mass book, a psalter, a legend, and a bible;
“nothing to write with, no stuff to write upon.” What a condition of re-
straint for such an intellectual man!

The severities exercised over his unfortunate prisoner exhibit in no favourable light the character of the offended Primate. His zeal for the Church seems to have made him forgetful of mercy and Christian charity.*

The device of Queen Margaret had separated the Yorkists, but they still contrived to keep up a correspondence, and were no less united in their views than before. While the Duke sought to ingratiate himself with the people, he well knew that it was no easy matter to wrest the crown from a monarch who had so long held it by hereditary right; and neither party had so decided a superiority as to be sure of victory should they have recourse to arms.† An attempt was made at this time, by Queen Margaret, to effect a reconciliation between the two parties. She perceived the advantage which had been taken of their dissensions by the foreign powers, and that the blame of every unfortunate measure fell upon her, or her ministers, of which the Duke of York availed himself. Margaret, therefore, adopted the wise policy of composing their grievances, and of restoring unanimity amongst the nobility; and this was the more expedient, since the late untoward events appeared to favour the Duke of York's projects.

1457.
Holinshed.

The task of restoring peace and unanimity to two powerful factions was found by no means easy; and the ingenuity of the Queen was called forth in procuring their obedience to her wishes. This was evinced by the summons being sent in the name of the King. Queen Margaret's former commands having failed to draw together the rebel chiefs, an express invitation was, by her means, dismissed from the

* Birch's Illus. Persons of Great Brit.; Dr. Hook's Archbishops.

† Rapin; Holinshed.

King to the Duke of York, requiring him and all his friends to repair to London; and it was expected that these commands would be readily obeyed, the King being much beloved for his pure and innocent life, and his uprightness.

1458.
Biondi;
Stow.

Some historians say that the King, ignorant of, or being displeased at, the proceedings of Queen Margaret at Coventry, "as contrary to his good intention," upon his return to London called a Council; and, after representing the miserable condition to which the kingdom was reduced by intestine division, which had induced the Scots and the French to insult them, and to commit devastations on the borders, he spoke of the necessity of a reconciliation, and offered willingly to pardon and forget the injuries which he had himself received. It is added, that the Queen and the Duke of Somerset, each made a similar offer to the Duke of York, at the instances of the King.* It seems improbable that King Henry took so active a part, yet if, influenced by his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, he really did by his persuasions effect this reconciliation, there can be little doubt that the Queen was previously disposed to unanimity, and equally sincere in *her* endeavours to promote it.

The letter of Henry, in his own handwriting, addressed to the Duke of York, after requiring his presence, and that of his friends, solemnly engaged that no injury should be offered them, and contained assurances that the King was perfectly sincere in his purpose of reconciliation.

Finding no plausible objection to make against this invitation, it was resolved by the Duke of York and his adherents to accept it; they were, however, still

* Biondi; Sandford; Baker; Paston Letters; Stow; Rapin; Henry; Echard Hist. Eng.; Daniel and Trussel.

jealous of Queen Margaret, who, on her part, retained some mistrust of her enemies. Amidst these mutual suspicions it is not improbable, that each party hoped to obtain some advantage by the meeting, and it is even more likely still, that neither in their hearts resolved upon giving up entirely their former purposes.* The Duke of York might, doubtless, be induced, by the moderation of character for which he was so remarkable, or by that timidity which withheld him from seizing on the crown when it was within his reach, to agree to this reconciliation. The Queen meanwhile was too penetrating to expect that the Duke would suddenly, or tamely give up his claims, yet might hope that kindness and conciliatory measures would delay the execution of his projects, until she might, by some fortunate circumstances, have recovered her popularity with the people.

To remove the possibility of any apprehensions, it was mutually agreed that the parties should come to the capital, with a certain number of their armed retainers; and the King even granted permission to the Earl of Warwick to bring with him from Calais eighty foreigners, in addition to his English followers.†

After all these preparatory arrangements, the Duke of York came to London on the 26th of January, 1458, attended by 400 of his adherents,‡ and lodged in his own residence, Baynard's Castle,§ still doubting the faith of the Queen. The Earl of Salisbury arrived on the 15th of January, bringing with him

1458.
Fabyan ;
Pol. Vergil ;
London
Chron. ;
Baker ;
Paston
Letters ;
Lingard ;
Rapin ;
Hume.

* Baker ; Paston Letters ; Holinshed ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin.

† Paston Letters ; Rapin ; Pennant's London.

‡ Another writer tells us that the Duke of York came to London with only his own household, amounting to 140 horsemen.

§ Baynard's Castle had belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who rebuilt it. Upon his death, Henry VI. granted it to Richard, Duke of York.

500 horsemen, and lodged in his own house, called the "Herbour." *

The Duke of Somerset, who arrived on the last day of January, had 200 horse. Another writer says that Somerset and the Duke of Exeter, who had been lately released, came with 300 men, and lodged without Temple Bar. The Earl of Northumberland, Lord Egremont, and Lord Clifford came with 1,500 men, and lodged in Holborn. The Earl of Warwick, who arrived a month later, brought with him 600 men, in red jackets, with white ragged staves, embroidered behind and before. These lodged at Grey Friars.† The delay in the arrival of this earl was only caused by contrary winds; and we learn, from the Paston Letters, that the Duke of Exeter entertained great displeasure "that my Lord of Warwick occupieth his office, and taketh the charge of the keeping of the sea upon him."

The Duke of Buckingham also came, and with him his grandson Henry, Earl of Stafford. They entered the capital in the train of the King and Queen, who, with a great retinue, arrived in London on the 17th day of March. On entering the metropolis, they fixed their residence at the Bishop's palace, near St. Paul's, which at this period was surrounded by stone walls, afterwards hidden by dwelling-houses. It should be remarked also that this royal abode, chosen for this brief and momentous season, was situated at an equal distance from both the factions. When the Lancastrians, as well as the Yorkists, had assembled in London, the greatest precautions were taken to prevent any disorders; and as these

* Other writers say, the Earl of Salisbury had but 400 horse, and four-score knights and esquires. By some it is asserted that the Queen and her son remained at Berkhamstead until the conference was ended.

† Pennant says that Warwick and his followers lodged in Warwick Lane.

would doubtless have arisen, had they occupied the same quarters, care was taken that they should lodge in different parts of the city ; and it was further considered requisite, for the maintenance of order, that the Lord Mayor, Sir Godfrey Boleyn,* should ride round the city every night, with a competent number of his trainbands, which amounted to 10,000 men.† To what an extent must the general suspicion have prevailed ! Besides all this, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen kept a standing watch in arms day and night. The Lords who lodged within the city held a daily council at Blackfriars,‡ while those without, met in the Chapter House, at Westminster. The resolves of the Yorkists, were communicated to the Royalists by the Primate, and other prelates ; and the proceedings of each day, were in the evening laid before the King, who, as umpire between the two parties, pronounced his award. Mediators were unanimously chosen, and finally a reconciliation was effected, on the 3rd of April ; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the clergy, having used the utmost diligence and activity to promote it.

Many arrangements were entered into by the opposing parties. The Earl of Warwick agreed to give to Lord Clifford 1,000 marks, “in good, and sufficient assignment of debts.”

Lord Egremont, and his brother Richard Percy (the sons of the Countess of Westmoreland), who, for certain trespasses and transgressions, had been condemned, at the sessions of York, to pay to the Earl of Salisbury 8,000 marks, to his son Thomas Neville 1,000 marks, and to the said Thomas and his wife

* This Sir Godfrey (or Jeffrey) Bollen or Boleyn was the great-grandfather of Queen Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry the Eighth.

† Baker says the number of the trainbands was 500 ; Lingard says 5000 ; Stow 2000.

‡ Stow tells us that these meetings were held in Warwick Lane.

2,000; also to John Neville, another son of the earl, 800 marks, were released from the payment of these sums, and from the custody in which they had been held by the late sheriffs of London; being, however, bound over to keep the peace towards the Earl and his family.

The Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick consented to bestow a yearly rent of £45 on the monastery of St. Alban's, for suffrages, obits to be kept up, and alms to be employed, for the souls of the late Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Clifford, and others, slain in the battle of St. Alban's; and it was determined, that both those who were dead, and those who had caused their death, should be reputed faithful subjects. The Duke of York also agreed to give to the Duchess of Somerset, and Henry her son, the sum of 5,000 marks, which were due to him from the King, for his services in Ireland.

At length all parties evinced their perfect satisfaction. They mutually agreed that, setting aside their several animosities, they would live together in unity and obedience to their sovereign, and that, to obviate complaints, the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, as well as several others of their party, should take their seats in the Cabinet. All these articles being agreed upon, they were afterwards ratified under the Great Seal of England, and a public thanksgiving was appointed for the 5th of April, in token of the universal joy at this reconciliation.

Accordingly, on that day the King, Queen, and all the Lords, went in a solemn procession to St. Paul's. In proof of their amity, one of each party walked hand in hand, proceeding in couples after each other. Before the King walked Henry Beaufort, Duke of

Somerset, and Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; next came John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; after King Henry followed the Duke of York, leading the Queen by the hand, who showed, by her great complacency, that she was at least sincere in her desire to please.*

To the people this was a spectacle promising future peace and harmony; but these external forms could not avail to eradicate the passions of ambition and revenge which secretly influenced the two factions; and this important convention of the nobles of the land, was indeed, but a prelude to civil broils, and ceaseless warfare.

The following lines from the pen of Lydgate, commemorate this reconciliation between the Lords of the Yorkist faction and the King and his adherents:—

“ When Charyte ys chosen with stats to stonde,
 “ Stedfast and styll, with oute distaunce,
 “ Then wreth may be exilid out of thys lond,
 “ And God oure gide to have governaunce;
 “ Wysdom and welthe with all plesaunce,
 “ May rightfulle reigne, and prosperite,
 “ For love hath underleyde wrethfull vengeance,
 “ Reioyse Englund the Lords accordid bee.

 “ Reioyse and thonke God, and sorw no more,
 “ For now shal enerece thi consolacone;
 “ Our enemies quake for drede ful sore,
 “ That pees ys made that was divisione,
 “ Whiche ys to them grete confusione,
 “ And to us joy and felicite;
 “ God hold them longe in every seasoone,
 “ That Englund may reioyce, the concord and unite.

 “ Now ys sorw with shame fied yn to Fraunce,
 “ As a felon that hath forsworne thys lond;
 “ Love hath put owte malicius governaunce,
 “ In every place both fre and bonde;
 “ In Yorke, in Somersett, as ye undyr stonde,
 “ In Warwikke also ys love and charite,
 “ In Salisbury eke, and yn Northumberlond
 “ That every man may reioyce the concord and unite.

* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Fabyan; Stow; Sandford; London Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Paston Letters; Howel; Pennant's London; Rapin.

" Egremond, and Clyfford, and other forseyd,
 " Ben sett yn the same opynone ;
 " In every quarter love is thus leide,
 " Grace and wisdome hath the dominacione,
 " Awoke welth, and walk in thys regione,
 " Rewnde abowte in towne and eite,
 " And thonke them that brought it to thys conclusion ;
 " Reioyse Englund the concord and unite.

" At Poules in London, with grete renowne,
 " On oure Lady day, the pes was wrought ;
 " The King, the quene, with Lords many one,
 " To worshyppe that virgine as they oght,
 " Went a prosession, and spacyd right noght,
 " In sight of alle the comonialty ;
 " In tokyn that love was in hart and thoght ;
 " Reioice Englund, the concord and unite.

" There was by twene them lovely countenance,
 " Whyche was grete joy to alle that there were,
 " That long tyme hadd ben in variaunce,
 " As frynds for ever they went yn fere,
 " They went togedre, and made good chere ;
 " O Fraunce and Bretagne, repent shall ye,
 " For the bergeyne shall ye bye fulle dere ;
 " Reioice Englund the concord and unite.

" Our sovereyn lord the kyng, God kepe alway,
 " The quene and bisshope of Canterbury
 " And other that have labored to thys love day,
 " God preserve them we pray hertly ;
 " And London for they fulle diligently ;
 " Kept the pees in trobull and in adversite ;
 " To brynge yn rest they labored ful treuly ;
 " Reioice Englund the peas and unite.

" Off thre things, y preys thy worshypfull citee :
 " The first, of trewe feythe that they owe to the kyng ;
 " The secounde, of love of cache comonialte ;
 " The thyrde, of good rule evermore keepyng ;
 " The whyche God mayntene ever long durynge,
 " And save the maire and all the hole citee,
 " And that ys amys brynge to amendyng,
 " That Englund may reioice the pees and unite." *

In Whitsun week following, the Duke of Somerset,
 Sir Anthony Rivers, and four others, kept jousts before
 the Queen, in the Tower of London, against three of

1458.
 Stow ;
 Fabyan.

* Cottonian MS. ; Lydgate.

the Queen's esquires and others. In like manner they jousted at Greenwich the Sunday following.*

After all the fair appearances of confidence and friendship on the part of both Yorkists and Lancastrians, the former soon began to evince their mistrust of the Royalists, and under various pretences, withdrew from court.

The Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury repaired to York, and the Earl of Warwick went over to Calais. An accidental quarrel arose between the ships which bore this Earl and his followers to Calais, and some vessels belonging to Genoa and Lubeck; the latter carried their complaints to the King, and Henry, having appointed commissioners to inquire into the affair, the Earl of Warwick was compelled to return to London, to answer to the charge.† During the Earl's stay in this city another quarrel arose, equally trivial in its commencement, but far more important in its results. The Earl had gone to the Council-chamber, and while detained there one of his people fell out with a servant belonging to the King, and wounded him; upon which his comrades, to revenge the offence, seized upon whatever weapons were at hand, but the aggressor escaped, and they vented their fury on the rest of the Duke's followers.

Another affray happened in April this year, between the inhabitants of Fleet Street and the men of Court, in which the Queen's attorney lost his life. The governors of the courts of law, and many others, were upon this imprisoned by the King's orders.‡

The Queen's Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Shernborne, died on the 3rd of February in this year. He had married Jamina de Cherneys, a French woman, and one of Queen Margaret's maids of honour.

* Stow; Fabian; Holinshed.

† Baker; Holinshed; Rapin; Henry; Hall; Lingard. ‡ Holinshed.

Sir Thomas was buried at Shernborne, in Norfolk, in the family sepulchre. The inscription on his tomb (now effaced) was as follows :—

“ *Thome Sherneborne camerar. d'ne Margarete regine*
 “ *Anglie, et Jamine uxor' ejus quo'da domicellarie*
 “ *ejusd' regine.*” *

The Earl of Warwick was also assaulted in his way from the Council to his barge upon the Thames; and he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, several of his train being killed in this affray. Shortly after the Earl was informed that the King, or, as some say, the Queen, had issued orders for his arrest, and confinement in the Tower. Had he been taken, the Earl of Warwick would probably have lost his life; but he contrived to elude those who had been sent to apprehend him. He was persuaded that this tumult had been raised by the Queen's contrivance, who, as he thought, wished to get rid of him without being concerned in the affair; and he resolved to be revenged of this affront. The Earl repaired instantly to Warwick, to his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and they together proceeded into Yorkshire, to the Duke of York, to consult with him as to the measures to be adopted.†

It was thus that an accidental affray drew upon this unfortunate Queen all the burden of this Earl's resentment; and it seems even more than probable that she was altogether ignorant of the affair. It is, besides, not unlikely that the Court, having noticed that the Earl of Warwick's men had raised a tumult, had suddenly issued an order for the apprehension of their leader. The circumstances by no means lead to a conviction that Margaret had any share in the attack on this high-spirited lord, but only prove the danger

* Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

† Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Daniel.

of want of confidence between a sovereign and her subjects. The haughty Warwick, having once entertained a deep-rooted mistrust of his royal mistress, no promises—no compliance, could afterwards eradicate it; on the contrary, every accidental circumstance was construed to the prejudice of the Queen.*

When the Duke of York and his friends consulted together, they came to the conclusion that the late reconciliation was designed to ensnare them, in order that they might be more easily dispatched when they were separated, by some secret means, which would not excite suspicion. Indignant at the offence which they considered had been offered them, they spoke of it in sharp and bitter terms, saying, that “it was nothing less than the deceit and fury of a woman (meaning the Queen), who, thinking she might do whatever she pleased, sought to torment and utterly destroy all the nobility of the land.” It is probable, that these lords did not regret being furnished with a pretext for having again recourse to arms; and declaring that they could no longer depend upon the assurances of the Court, they immediately prepared for war. The Earl of Warwick once more evinced his suspicion in the haste with which he embarked for Calais, fearing that this place would be seized by the Royalists.†

Resolved upon demanding satisfaction of the King for the affront offered to his son, the Earl of Salisbury set out from Middleham Castle with a sufficient escort to defend his person. While passing through Lancashire, either towards Coleshill, in Warwickshire, where King Henry was, or being in quest of the Duke of York, who, after his return from Ireland,

* Even Rapin, who is always severe against Queen Margaret, acknowledges that it is difficult to decide if this were the act of the Queen, or merely accidental.

† Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Holinshed.

was staying at Ludlow, in Shropshire (for it is doubtful which was his object), news was brought him that the Queen, while at Eccleshall, in Staffordshire, had commanded Lord Audley to collect all the forces of that county, and of the adjoining ones of Salop and Chester, to oppose the Yorkists. This information arrested the progress of the Earl of Salisbury, and he determined to strengthen his party, before he encountered the Royalists. He raised a new army in Wales, and his forces were augmented to 4,000 or 5,000 men by the time he had arrived at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire.

Queen Margaret had at this time the advice and assistance of the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, and she had also kept a vigilant eye on her own affairs. It was her opinion that the Earl of Warwick had excited this new rebellion, purposely to establish the Duke of York upon the throne.

In appointing Lord Audley to the command of the forces, which she ordered to advance against the insurgents, the Queen was led to make this choice because this lord had most influence in the county through which the Earl of Salisbury had to pass. Queen Margaret also suspected that the Earl of Salisbury, in seeking a conference with the King, had no good intention towards his sovereign or herself, and therefore commissioned Lord Audley to apprehend him, should it be in his power.*

The activity of the Queen, previous to the engagement at Bloreheath, was remarkable. After issuing her commands to Lord Audley to raise a new army in the King's name, she proceeded next to exert her personal influence in rousing the energy of her adhe-

* Sandford ; Hall ; Holinshed ; Stow ; Fabian ; Baker : Wethamstede ; Rot. Parl. : Pol. Vergil ; W. of Worcester ; Pennant ; Hume ; Henry ; Lingard ; Daniel.

rents. Her amiable manners, and artful and insinuating address, soon gained the affections of the people.

Margaret next went on a progress with the King, probably to awaken the public sympathy for him, and their zeal in his cause, through Warwick, Stafford, and Chester; but in the first of these counties was less successful than in the others, owing to the surprising influence which the Earl of Warwick maintained there. The magnificence in which this nobleman lived, added to his extreme gallantry, and the boldness and energy which he exhibited in his actions, gained him the hearts of all who approached him. He was besides extremely generous and hospitable, and the openness and sincerity of his character secured the friendship of those who surrounded him. His words were regarded by them as truth itself, and his gifts were no less certain proofs of his sincerity. At his table no less than 30,000 persons were daily maintained in his numerous castles and manors in England; and those who entered his service were more devoted to him than to their sovereign, or to the laws of their country. Stow tells us, that at his palace in Warwick Lane, London, "where he 'kept house,' six oxen were consumed at every breakfast; that every tavern was full of his meat; and every guest was allowed to carry off as much roasted or boiled as he could bear upon his long dagger." *

To counteract the influence of this powerful lord was Queen Margaret's chief care, and to win, by her kindness and condescension, all the nobility and gentry of these midland counties. In her progress through Cheshire she was highly successful, and ingratiated herself everywhere, persuading the lords to espouse her cause. The more effectually to attach the lords and gentry to her, the Queen "kept open house" amongst them, and commanded the young Prince, her son, to

* Stow; Pennant; Baker; Barante; Hume; Lingard.

distribute a profusion of collars of white embroidered swans to the commander of her forces, Lord Audley, and to all the gentry of Cheshire, to be worn by them in token of their attachment to herself, the King, and her son.

These white swans, the badge of the young Edward, were borne by all who fought for the Lancastrians in the memorable battle which ensued at Bloreheath. Similar badges were also sent by the Queen to many others of her adherents in different parts of England; for she had hopes that she might be able to unite a party strong and powerful enough to overcome her enemies.* The two armies met on a plain called Bloreheath, near Drayton, in Staffordshire, on the 23rd of September, 1459. Lord Audley, in obedience to the Queen's commands, had drawn together his forces with the utmost expedition. These amounted to 10,000 men, twice the number of the forces of the Earl; but the latter, far from being intimidated, resolved to obtain by stratagem a victory which he could not hope to win by force.

Lord Audley having encamped on the banks of a small river, the Earl of Salisbury stationed his army on the opposite side, apparently to guard the pass and to prevent an attack. He then suddenly withdrew in the night, so ordering his march that, when daylight appeared, the rear of his army only could be discovered by the Royalists. This seemingly hasty retreat roused the ardour of the King's forces, and these, thinking they had but to pursue an army already taking flight, began to pass the river in great disorder; but, before they had accomplished their purpose of gaining the opposite bank, even while some were just landed, others

1459.
Baker;
Holinshed;
Toplis;
Lingard;
Rapin.

* Holinshed; Stow; Paston Letters; Pennant; Lysons' Cheshire; Magna Britannia; Baudier; Lingard; Ormerod's Chester; Fabyan; Daniel; Heningay's Hist. of Chester; Kennet's Hist. of Eng.

still in the water, and the rest preparing to pass it, the Earl of Salisbury suddenly turned back, and fell upon them. So sudden and unexpected was this movement, that the Lancastrians had scarcely time to draw up for battle. An obstinate fight was maintained for four or five hours, during which the Royalists were supported by fresh supplies continually crossing the river; but the confusion, inevitable in a battle fought in such a manner, occasioned their defeat. The loss of the Lancastrians was estimated at 2,400 men. Lord Audley and all the principal officers were slain.

Amongst those enumerated were Sir Thomas Dutton, Sir John Done, Sir Hugh Venables, Sir Richard Molineux, Sir William Troutbeck, Sir John Leigh, of Booths, and Sir John Egerton, who were all left dead on the field of battle.* Dudley, and many knights were made prisoners, amongst whom were Sir John and Sir Thomas Neville, knights, two sons of the Earl of Salisbury,† and Sir Thomas Harrington, Raufe Rokesby, Thomas Ashton, Robert Evereux, and others, who were all sent to Chester.‡ § The extent to which party animosity had reached at the period of this fatal battle has been strongly depicted in the words of the poet, who thus describes the death of these brave men, each having fallen by the hand of a relative :—

“ There Dutton, Dutton kills ; a Done doth kill a Done ;

“ A Booth a Booth ; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown,

“ A Venables against a Venables doth stand,

“ And Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck hand to hand ;

* To these should be added that of Sir Robert Booth of Denham, whose monumental brass fixes his decease on this day.

† These two sons of Salisbury were travelling with Sir Thomas Harrington into the North, but were taken. A message from the “ March ” men caused them to be set free.

‡ They were released from their prison in the castle of Chester by order of the King, and delivered by Sir John Mainwaring to Lord Stanley.

§ Hall ; Sandford ; Holinshed ; Baker ; Fabyan ; Drayton's Poly-olbion ; Toplis ; Pol. Vergil ; Stow ; Mag. Britannia ; Pennant ; Rapin ; Hume ; Henry ; Daniel ; Lingard ; Ormerod's Chester ; Chron. Lond. ; Heningay's Chester ; Kennet's Hist. of England.

"Then Molineux doth make a Molineux to die ;
 "And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth try.
 "Oh Cheshire ! wast thou mad of thine own native gore,
 "So much until this day thou never shedd'st before !
 "Above two thousand men upon the earth were thrown,
 "Of whom the greater part were naturally thine own."

During the battle of Bloreheath Queen Margaret remained at Eccleshall, in Staffordshire, where, from the tower of the church in that town, she beheld this fierce encounter, so fatal to the Lancastrian cause.* The King was staying at Coleshill. The quarrel between the two parties, at first confined to the higher classes, now began to occasion division and strife in almost every family in the kingdom : it found its way into the recesses of the convents, and even into the cottages of the poor. One party called the Duke of York a traitor, who was only spared through the clemency of the King ; the other party, taking the side of the rebels, considered their chief had been injured, and, with his associates trampled under foot by the Court minions, and compelled to unsheath the sword for self-preservation.†

The unfortunate, yet faithful and high-spirited consort of King Henry, finding that she had failed in her purpose of apprehending the Earl of Salisbury, and that the battle was lost by her party, was yet not wanting in expedients, although disappointed, and thrown more than ever upon her own resources. Being convinced that nothing but superiority of numbers could avail her, she caused to be assembled a large army. These forces met at Coventry, where the King joined them, but would fain have been excused from again having recourse to arms.‡ He would gladly

* A great stone was placed on the spot where the commander, Lord Audley, fell.

† Wethamstede ; Cont. Croyland ; Lingard ; Holinshed.

‡ Stow ; Holinshed ; Pennant ; Rapin.

have quelled the rebellion by means of a treaty, but the Queen, undaunted by the late failure, resolved to oppose the Duke of York to the utmost of her power in the field, as she had before done in the Cabinet.

After the defeat at Bloreheath, the Royalists, whose ardour was unabated, pressed onward to Ludlow, and in their way experienced many difficulties from the inclemency of the season, the bad roads, and want of accommodation; to which hardships King Henry submitted with cheerfulness, halting only on Sundays. He often spent his nights in the open fields; but the life of a soldier was far from agreeable to this monarch, who on all occasions advocated peace.

Queen Margaret was at this time most earnestly bent on the subjugation of the Yorkists. Some historians assure us that the Queen, being convinced that it was in vain for her to attempt to persuade the King her husband to second or approve her measures; (he, either through the feebleness of his understanding, or his pacific disposition, becoming unmanageable,) being disappointed in her projects for want of his concurrence, resolved at last to endeavour to place her son on the throne, seeking to prevail on King Henry to resign it in his favour. She had even engaged some lords to aid her in this attempt, and these noblemen actually moved the King to abdicate, but could not succeed in obtaining his consent.*

1459.
Fabyan.

The sagacity of the Queen enabled her to perceive that the Duke of York aimed at the crown; and, being persuaded of this, she earnestly sought to arouse the King to a sense of the danger he incurred from the pretensions of so formidable a rival. She reminded him of the preparations which were then making by the Duke, showing the necessity for action, as by his delay the Duke always became the aggressor. She

* Stow; Baudier; Fabyan.

conjured him, then, to march with the utmost expedition, and by a prompt and courageous attack to displace and confound the insurgents.*

The arguments of Queen Margaret, although they induced the King to set out in quest of the rebels, did not prevail on him to assault them, until he had first made use of every pacific means to recall them to their allegiance.

The royal army consisted of 60,000 men, headed by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter. They marched in the direction of Wales, but stopped short at Worcester, when King Henry dismissed Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to the rebels, who had encamped at Ludlow, with an offer of pardon, upon condition of their laying down their arms within six days.†

The Earl of Salisbury, after his victory at Bloreheath, had proceeded into Wales, where the Duke of York was employed in levying troops. These noblemen held a long conference. They perceived that the King and Queen had penetrated their design, and it was therefore no longer of use to dissemble. They resolved to make one more desperate effort to accomplish their purpose, or to lose their lives in the attempt. Uniting all their forces, they redoubled their exertions to assemble a large army, and dismissed a summons to the Earl of Warwick, who speedily joined them, bringing with him a part of his garrison from Calais, under the command of Sir John Blount and Sir Andrew Trollop, who had distinguished himself in the wars in France.‡ To the proposal of King Henry the Yorkists only replied by alleging that they could not rely on promises, which were evidently meant to ensnare

* Baudier.

† Holinshed ; Hall ; Sandford ; Baker ; Stow ; Green's Worcester ; Rapin.

‡ Pennant says that Salisbury joined the Duke at Ludlow.

them, as had been seen in the late attempt on the Earl of Warwick; and that there was no trusting to the King's word, as long as the Queen had such predominant power; but that they were willing to submit to their sovereign, if he could devise means to ensure their safety.*

Upon receiving this answer, the King commanded his forces to advance, with design to give them battle; he then obtained from the rebels a most submissive letter, beseeching him to remember that they had been compelled to adopt defensive measures, to protect themselves from their enemies; that it was evident they entertained no treasonable designs from their remaining in a distant part of the kingdom, where they had attempted nothing; that they wished only to obtain redress for the grievances of the people, which had been occasioned by the faults of the ministers. Finally, they prayed the King to consider them as loyal subjects, and receive them again into his favour.†

This address failed in its object. The Royalists, inspired with a contemptible opinion of the enemy's courage, from the humble manner in which they wrote, approached within half a mile of their camp, resolved to come to an engagement on the following day. The King's proclamation was meanwhile dispersed amongst the enemy, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms; and this had a powerful effect. The troops of the Duke, thinking the King's pardon was offered on account of the superior numbers of the forces of the Royalists, lost no time in abandoning the apparently weaker side. Sir Andrew Trollop, and those who had accompanied him from Calais, who

* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Sandford; Rot. Parl.; Wethamstede; Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Green's Worcester.

† Stow; Holinshed; Rapin; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

had long served the King with fidelity, but had been deceived by the fair speeches of their employers, now, for the first time, discovered the treasonable intentions of the Duke of York, who, to keep up the spirits of his men, had spread a report that King Henry died the day before, and even commanded mass to be chaunted for the repose of his soul.

This report reached the King, who, to refute it, immediately appeared in the midst of his troops, and harangued them with a martial air, and greater spirit and energy than he was ever known to exhibit on any other occasion.

This much gratified the Lancastrian lords and soldiers, and all who were eager to show their loyalty to their sovereign. The falsehood of the Duke of York being thus made apparent, Sir Andrew Trollop and his followers went over, in the night, to the King, and thus threw the Yorkists into the utmost confusion. Consternation and distrust spread through the camp, and the defection became so general, that the confederate lords, in great alarm, lest they should fall into the King's hands, fled precipitately into the heart of Wales. The Duke of York proceeded thence, with his son, the Earl of Rutland, to Ireland. The Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, proceeded into Devonshire, where, assisted by John Denham, Esq., they escaped from Exmouth to Guernsey, and thence to Calais. The remainder of the army submitted to the King's mercy; and all received a pardon, except a few, who were executed as a public example.*

This bloodless victory was highly satisfactory to the merciful monarch; and the next day King Henry convoked a Parliament to meet at Coventry. After the

* Baker; Sandford; Hall; Holinshed; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Moore's Ireland; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Lingard; Fabyan; Hume; Henry; Daniel.

1459.
Holinshed;
Hume;
Henry;
Burdys
Ireland;
Lingard.

flight of his enemies, the King proceeded by long journeys into Wales, hoping to overtake the Duke of York; but the latter eluded his pursuers. The King then returned to Ludlow, from whence he dismissed his army, having first spoiled the Castle of Ludlow, and sent the Duchess of York, with two of her younger sons, to be kept in ward with the Duchess of Buckingham, her sister. The town of Ludlow, belonging to the Duke of York, was spoiled to the bare walls.

While staying at Ludlow, the King decided some old controversies, and received under his protection the people of those parts, who flocked around him, rejoicing in his success. Here also King Henry appointed some noblemen of approved loyalty to govern and defend the counties of Durham and York.

All the adherents of the House of York were ill-treated and plundered throughout the kingdom, which only served to inflame the animosity of the two parties. Those who had served the King were recompensed with the estates and spoils of the insurgents, according to their respective services and condition. Amongst these, Thomas de Roos was rewarded for his loyalty with an annuity of £40 per annum, out of the forfeited estate of the Earl of Salisbury.*

1459.

From the time of the dispersion of the Yorkists, near Ludlow, the King regained his due authority; and the Lancastrians only were employed in public affairs, which were so conducted until the following summer. During this period the King, by the advice of his lords, caused the Yorkists to be proclaimed traitors, and treated with great severity.

* Lingard; Allen's York; Hall; Stow; Baker; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Fabyan.

1459.
Pennant;
Paston
Letters.

A Parliament was held in the Chapter House of the Priory at Coventry, in 1459, which was subsequently called by the Yorkists, the "*Parliamentum diaboli-cum*," on account of the numerous attainders passed against this party.*

These attainders, while they marked the spirit of the times, were both unwise and impolitic, as was the conduct of Queen Margaret afterwards, in her attempts to exterminate the party opposed to her. By this conduct the Duke of York was almost left without the choice of remaining as a subject with impunity.

Queen Margaret seems to have relied on the fidelity of the people of Coventry, and in all the seasons of her greatest alarm and anxiety she fled there. Her influence in this city was very great at the time the memorable Parliament alluded to was held there. The Queen's enemies styled this place her "secret arbour," and tell us the members were wholly devoted to her interests; and they subsequently charged her with having procured their election by illegal power.

The proceedings of this Parliament were marked by great severity, and formed a precedent to the House of York in their after-conduct. In the list of attainders in this Parliament we find, not only the Duke of York and his chief friends, but also his adherents, and some also amongst them who afterwards joined the Lancastrian cause. They were all declared guilty of high treason, and their heirs disinherited to the sixth degree,† and their estates confiscated.‡

* Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Stow; Baudier; Paston Letters; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Daniel.

† Stow and others say to the ninth degree.

‡ A list of persons attainted in this Parliament:—

Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, half brother to Henry VI.

Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.

George Neville, sixth son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and brother of the Earl of Warwick, afterwards the Archbishop of York.

When King Henry was called upon to sign these acts of attainder, such was his anxiety for, and love of, mercy, that he caused a proviso to be added, by which he was enabled, at any time, and without the authority of Parliament, to pardon these noblemen, and to re-establish them in their former estates and dignities, should they sincerely implore his forgiveness and favour; nor would he give his consent to the confiscation of the property of the Lord Powis, and two others, who had craved his mercy the morning after their leaders had fled.*† What the poet said of Cæsar, might with justice be applied to King Henry; viz., “that he was slow to punish, and sad when he was “constrained to be severe,”—

“Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox;
“Cuique dolet, quoties cogitur esse ferox.”‡

Richard, Duke of York, after being betrayed and defeated, was driven to take refuge in Ireland; where he was not, however, received as a fugitive, but as a chief, or Governor, owing to his former conduct in that country. The Duke was now even joyfully welcomed by the Irish. They not only treated him with great respect, but voluntarily offered him their ser-

1459.
Burdy.

Lord Grey of Ruthin, afterwards Earl of Kent.

The Duke of York.

The Earl of March.

The Earl of Rutland.

The Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of Salisbury.

The Lord Powis.

Lord Clynton.

The Countess of Saer.

Sir Thomas Nevylle.

Sir John Nevylle.

Sir Thomas Harryngton.

Sir Thomas Parre.

Sir John Conyers.

Sir John Wenlock.

Sir William Oldhall.

Edward Bouchier, Esq.

Thomas Vaugh'n.

Thomas Colte.

Thomas Clay.

John Denham.

Thomas Thoryng.

John Oter.

* The Bishop of Exeter and Lord Grey of Ruthin submitting themselves obtained the King's favour.

† Holinshed; Stow; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Encyclopædia Britannica; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

‡ Ovid.

vices, to live or die for him, as if he were their lawful sovereign, and they his faithful subjects. While the Duke had been in England, a period of eight years, a succession of deputies had been appointed by him to rule in Ireland. At the time of his return, Thomas, Earl of Kildare, was deputy, and the prevailing party was the Geraldines, by whom the safety of the Duke, and of his colleagues, was provided for. Such Acts of Parliament were also passed as almost declared the colony independent of the English Crown.

It was in vain that they were opposed by the Earl of Ormond, who earnestly maintained the King's cause; so much so, that some of the agents of this earl were executed for attempting an arrest on the royal warrant, as violators of the acts of the party of the Geraldines.*

The friends of the Duke of York, who had fled to Calais for refuge, were welcomed there by Lord Fauconbridge. All the Yorkists who assembled at this place consulted together, each proposing some fresh expedient to effect their purpose, and they were none of them deficient in courage or inclination.†

At this very time, when the Irish were exhibiting all the warmth of affection for the Duke of York, he was formally attainted in the Parliament at Coventry, and all his adherents proclaimed rebels and traitors.‡

The attention of the English Government was at this period directed to a new object. Somerset had, by the Queen's means, been appointed Governor of Calais, the King giving him a grant of it previous to the late engagement. He was dismissed with some troops to take possession of the town; but, upon his approach, the garrison fired on him, and prevented his landing. He was thus compelled to withdraw to

1459.
Stow;
W. of Worcester;
Paston
Letters.

* Stow; Hall; Holinshed; Leland; Burdy's Ireland; Moore's Ireland.

† Holinshed; Stow.

‡ Leland.

Guisnes, whence he made frequent sallies, but was unable to recover that town, which was strongly fortified; and in one of his conflicts, on St. George's day, he lost many of his followers, at a place called Newnham Brigge.*

When informed of the difficulty which Somerset experienced in effecting his object, the Queen equipped a fleet to bear him succours, under the command of the Earl of Rivers and his son.

Another account is, that the Queen was so incensed at the opposition the Duke met with, that, in a great passion, she gave orders to prepare all the King's ships lying at Sandwich, to render him assistance. These, while they awaited a favourable opportunity to set sail, were surprised by Sir John Denham, a friend of the Earl of March, who, with some troops, had been dismissed by the Earl of Warwick. These forces, arriving at Sandwich by daybreak, Lord Rivers and his son, Sir Antony, and most of his officers, were surprised in their beds, and taken prisoners; and the rest were won over by Sir John Denham, who finally departed with the King's vessels to Calais, taking with him also Lord Rivers, his son, and officers. These ships were employed by Warwick to carry him over to Ireland, and there he desired to consult the Duke of York as to the means they should adopt for their own defence. When Lord Rivers was brought before the lords at Calais, "there were eight score torches, and "there my Lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him "knave's son, that he should be so rude to call him, "and these other lords, traitors, for," he said, "they "should be found the King's true liege men, when he "should be found a traitor." Lord Rivers was also "rated" by my Lords Warwick and March; but this

* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Paston Letters; Rapin; Lingard; Daniel.

was a show of great moderation on the part of these Yorkists, who, according to the cruel customs in these civil wars, might have ordered their prisoner for immediate execution.

1459.
W. of Worcester.

After the Earl of Warwick's conference with the Duke of York, he returned to Calais. He met in his passage the new Admiral, the Duke of Exeter, who did not dare to arrest the Earl's progress, and Warwick reached Calais in safety. He brought with him his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, who, through fear, had fled to Ireland.* The Duke of Somerset about this time returned from Guisnes, 500 men having been sent over to reconduct him to England.

1459.
W. of Worcester.

Sir Simon Montford was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having some ships under his command, to prevent the approach of the Earl of Warwick; but all these precautions were unavailing. The Earl surprised Sir Simon before his vessels were ready, and having ransacked the town of Sandwich, he carried off Sir Simon and his officers to Calais, where they say the Earl of March, to revenge those who had suffered in his father's cause, had twelve of them beheaded.

1459.
W. of Worcester.

In February this year, 1459, nine persons were apprehended in the metropolis who were Yorkists, one of them a lawyer, named Roger Neville, the rest tradesmen of the city of London. They were drawn, hanged, and beheaded; the offence for which they suffered being, that they were desirous of approaching Calais to aid the Earl of Warwick.†

A conspiracy was also discovered, the object of which was to besiege the Tower of London. The

* Baker; Holinshed; Hall; Fabyan; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Daniel.

† Baker; Paston Letters; Leland; W. of Worcester; Daniel.

Duke of Exeter was implicated, and five of his family, and also Thomas Brount, knight, of Kent. They were all tried in July this year, 1459, at Guildhall, and convicted, and were then drawn to Tyburn and beheaded; also, soon afterwards, another person, named John Archer, who was engaged in the same plot.*

1459.
W. of Worcester.

It had been anticipated by the Queen and her ministers, that the interview between the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick would be productive of a new rebellion; consequently, a Council was held on the subject, wherein it was determined that a diligent search should be made throughout the kingdom for all the friends and adherents of the Duke of York, and that such of them as should be found faithful to him, and most capable of rendering him assistance, should be executed. James Butler,† Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Scales, and others, were employed in the office of discovering those who had sided with the Yorkists, and they were authorised to punish the offenders according to law.

These severities, however, had a different effect from that which had been anticipated. The general discontent increased, and scarcely had these two lords begun to execute their commission, having condemned to death a few persons in some towns where the Duke's cause had been boldly espoused, than the inhabitants of Kent flew to arms, and the people, who had before eagerly flocked to the standard of Cade (an adventurer, with a feigned title), now exhibited great zeal and excitement in favour of one they called the rightful heir, and true descendant of the House of York.‡

* W. of Worcester.

† James Butler was the son of the Earl of Ormond, and was created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VI. during his father's lifetime. He had been ten years Deputy of Ireland, and became Lord High Treasurer of England.

‡ Stow; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Henry; Rapin.

1459. In 1459, Pope Pius II. sent into England a Legate, with a view to assist in the reconciliation of the rival parties of York and Lancaster ; and also to prevail on King Henry VI. to join the forces of this nation in a crusade. The Legate employed on this occasion was Francesco de Copini, Bishop of Teramo, who, far from executing the purposes of his mission, fostered the dissensions of the rival parties, when he should have composed them ; he joined the army of the Yorkists, and even proceeded to excommunicate the adherents of the Lancastrians.

This is stated by the Pope himself. Copini had arrived at Calais, when he received a letter from the leaders of the Yorkist party, Richard, Earl of Warwick, who was Captain of Calais, Edward, Earl of March, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge. The letter was dated from Calais, and had the seals, as well as the signs-manual, of all these persons attached to it.

They offered to Copini a vessel, to go speedily and urge upon King Henry the "honour and integrity of the intentions of these lords, both to him and to the country, confirmed by oath." They alluded to their having obtained possession of the King's fleet, which they had seized upon previously at Sandwich.

Copini much incensed the Pope by the perversion of his mission, and by the enormous bribes, in plate and money, which he had received. He was recalled by him, and put into prison, in the castle of St. Angelo.

The Legate made a full confession of his guilt. He was deprived of his bishopric, and changed his name from Francesco to Ignatius. Afterwards he became a monk in the Benedictine monastery of St. Paul, at Rome, and died in obscurity.

The Yorkist lords showed their sense of obligation to Copini by granting him the sum of £100 annually,

payable from the ports of Southampton ; and this was granted until such time as he should obtain preferment in the church.*

The impolitic scheme of Queen Margaret, for the extirpation of the Yorkists, had raised universal alarm in the minds of the people of Kent.

Their strong attachment to the Duke of York had been often manifested ; and perceiving the method adopted in other counties, for the destruction of his party, they could but anticipate that their own ruin would follow. With this impression they made a timely appeal to the Lords at Calais, inviting them to make a descent on the coast of Kent, promising to join them, and risk their lives and fortunes in their cause. It may well be imagined that this offer was far from displeasing to the lords who received it ; but, being unwilling to engage too hastily in this enterprise, they dismissed Lord Fauconbridge to ascertain the real disposition of the people.†

When Lord Fauconbridge arrived at Sandwich he found the inhabitants throughout Kent were sincere in their professions to the Lords at Calais, and earnestly desired to support the pretensions of the Yorkists. He sent immediately this intelligence to Calais, adding that nothing but the utmost despatch could save this county from the ruin which appeared inevitable ; and that if prompt assistance be rendered to the inhabitants of Kent, those of other counties might be encouraged to join them.‡

The Lords of Calais could no longer hesitate ; but previous to engaging in their new projects, they conveyed information of them to the Duke of York, in Ireland, and caused a public protestation to be made throughout Kent and the adjoining counties, to the

* Ellis's Letters.

† Stow ; Baker ; Rapin ; Henry ; Daniel.

‡ Stow ; Rapin ; Lingard.

effect that their only motive for taking up arms was to free the poor from oppression, and to preserve their rights and privileges. They further added, that they doubted not that all worthy Englishmen would unite their efforts for so noble an enterprise. The Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury and Lord Beaumont were charged by them with misguiding the King. They asserted, that the King of France had been written to, to besiege Calais; and that the people of Ireland had been commanded to expel the English. Finally, that the Yorkists were loyal subjects, which it was their intention soon to make manifest.

1460.
Stow;
London
Chron.†

This declaration had so great an effect over the minds of the people, that when the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and March reached Sandwich, bringing with them 1500 men, they found there already assembled an army of 400 * strong, under the command of Lord Cobham.† With this additional army the Yorkists began their march towards London, and before they arrived at the metropolis their numbers were increased to 25,000 or, according to some writers, 40,000 men.

Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (who was indebted for his exaltation to that Sec to the Duke of York), joined their party, as did the Bishops of Lincoln and London, and many barons. Also, the Pope's Legate had joined them. Besides these, William Grey, Bishop of Ely, and George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, brother of the Earl of Warwick, declared for them, and with some armed men met the warlike leaders with their army at Southwark, and conducted them to the city by London Bridge;‡ when they reached

* Lingard says 600.

† Stow; Hall; London Chron.; Leland; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Daniel.

‡ One historian tells us that in this approach to the city, thirteen of the strongest of the Bishop's armed men were suffocated, having fallen on the bad roads, and being unable to rise through the weight of their armour, and the concourse of people.

the capital the gates were thrown open to receive them.

They entered the city on the 2nd of July, 1460. It appears that resistance was vain, for London was at that time “kept without watch, and nothing furnished “like a town of war, and therefore of necessity open “to the first assailants.” They all proceeded to St. Paul’s, and there, in the presence of the prelates who had espoused their cause, the Yorkists swore that they intended nothing contrary to the continuance of King Henry’s authority.*

1460.

* Pol. Vergil ; Sandford ; Baker ; W. of Worcester ; Lingard ; Maitland’s London.

CHAPTER II.

(*Queen Margaret.*)

“ Oft have I heard that grief softens
“ The mind,
“ And makes it fearful and degenerate ;
“ Think therefore on revenge, and cease to weep.”

SHAKESPEARE.

(*Queen Margaret.*)

“ What are you made of ? you'll not fight
“ Nor fly :
“ Now is it manhood, wisdom and defence
“ To give the enemy way ; and to secure us
“ By what we can, which can no more but fly ?

[*Alarm afar off.*

“ If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom
“ Of all our fortunes ; but if we haply 'scape,
“ As well we may, if not through your neglect,
“ We shall to London get, where you are lord,
“ And where the breach now in our fortunes made
“ May readily be stopped.”—SHAKESPEARE.

The King and Queen at Coventry—Margaret's activity—She raises a new army—Edward, Earl of March, opposes her—The battle of Northampton—Buckingham and others slain—The Queen escapes to Durham—Respect paid to the King—Parliament meets—York's pretensions discussed—The Duke of York appointed successor to King Henry—A procession to St. Paul's—York becomes absolute—He attempts to ensnare the Queen—Margaret robbed near Chester—She goes to Wales and Scotland—Affairs in Scotland—The Queen returns to the North of England—She raises an army in Yorkshire, and is joined by the northern barons—Promises of plunder—The Queen goes southward with an army of 20,000—The Duke of York advances to meet her, and withdraws to Wakefield—Queen Margaret harangues her troops—Battle of Wakefield Green—Death of the Duke of York, and of his son—Earl of Salisbury beheaded—The Queen advances towards London—Battle of Mortimer's Cross—Owen Tudor beheaded—Warwick leads another army against the Queen—Battle of Bernard's Heath—Interview of the King, Queen, and Prince Edward—Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell beheaded—The plunder of St. Alban's—The Queen applies to the Lord Mayor for provisions, and is refused—The Earl of March advances to London, and Queen Margaret retires to the North—The Earl of March enters London, and is proclaimed King.

QUEEN MARGARET, who was at Coventry, found herself a second time excluded from the capital, where she had vainly endeavoured to prevent the entrance of the rebels, by sending thither a considerable force, under the command of Lord Scales. So general was the disaffection in this city, that, even previous to the entrance of the insurgents, the Mayor had shut the gates upon Lord Scales, who, thus repulsed, threw himself into the Tower, and threatened to destroy the city with his cannon, should the enemy be allowed to enter. The citizens, however, were not intimidated by this menace, and boldly permitted the Yorkists to establish themselves in the capital.*

The King and Queen were meanwhile collecting forces at Coventry with the utmost expedition. The Duke of Somerset, who had returned to England, and the Duke of Buckingham, took the command of this army, an office chiefly nominal, for Queen Margaret was herself in reality the general. No step could be taken, no measure adopted, but with her concurrence ; and, although the King was present also in person, the Queen was the only real commander.† Eagerly did Margaret desire to come to an engagement, which her ardent mind inclined her to expect would decide the contest. How vain were these expectations ! How unlike the judgment of riper years ! At this time Margaret could not have been more than thirty-one years of age, when her masculine understanding and her courage led her to brave the fortunes of war, and even death itself, in her earnestness to recover by force of arms, that which by policy she could not preserve, viz., the peaceable possession of the throne.

The Queen would not listen to any parley ; and the

* Baker ; Hall ; Rapin ; Henry ; W. of Worcester ; Maitland's London.

† Sandford ; Hall ; Baker ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin ; Hume ; Lingard ; Female Worthies.

King, intent on his devotions, did not even receive the messengers sent by the enemy to seek an accommodation ; the Duke of Buckingham also refused to admit them, even upon a second and a third application.*

The Earl of March, a youth of about twenty years of age, set out from London, with 25,000 men, to oppose the Queen, who, as he had heard, was on her way to the metropolis ; and he hoped to come to an engagement with her before she could collect a larger army. The Earl was accompanied by the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, as lieutenants, whilst the Earl of Salisbury remained in the city with a great part of his forces. Lord Scales, taking advantage of the departure of these noblemen, caused his cannon to play against the city, and effected some mischief ; but the vigilance of the Earl of Salisbury, in stopping his supplies, occasioned him great distress.†

Upon approaching the army of the Royalists, encamped near Northampton, the Earls of March and Warwick had dismissed the Bishop of Salisbury with proposals of accommodation. These offers, as we have seen, were not made known to the King ; but the Court, esteeming them as mere professions, refused to listen to them, and both armies prepared for battle.

The Queen, in her eagerness to decide the quarrel by an engagement, had crossed a little river called Nen, or Nyne, which lay behind the plain upon which she had encamped, making haste to effect this passage lest the Yorkists should take advantage of it to avoid a battle : this circumstance was ultimately of great disadvantage to her.‡

The memorable battle of Northampton was fought

* Baudier ; Female Worthies ; Stow ; Wethamstede.

† Baker ; Allen's York ; Henry ; Rapin.

‡ Sandford ; Stow ; Baudier ; Pennant ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Pol. Vergil.

on the 19th of July,* 1460.† The Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham having the command of the royal forces, the Queen withdrew to a distance, to watch the encounter, and to issue her orders as circumstances should require. In the army of the Yorkists the right wing was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the left by Lord Cobham, and the Earl of March fought in the centre. The King only remained inactive on this eventful day, which seemed to promise to establish him on the throne, or to dispossess him of it for ever. Retiring to his tent, within the precincts of the camp, he there patiently awaited the issue of the battle. Such respect had the pacific character of King Henry obtained for him amongst the Yorkists, that the lords of this party had proclaimed throughout their army, that great care should be taken not to injure the person of their sovereign. They also ordered that the common soldiers should be spared, and their leaders only sacrificed to their vengeance.

1460.
Baker ;
Sandford ;
Toplis ;
Paston ;
Letters ;
Stow ;
Pennant ;
Rapin ;
Henry ;
Hume ;
Lingard.

The engagement, which was commenced by the Yorkists, lasted two, or, as some say, five hours, with great fury and equal obstinacy on both sides, until Lord Grey, of Ruthin, who had headed part of the King's forces, suddenly deserted to the enemy. The Royalists, discouraged by this unexpected event, and fearing that others would follow this example, began to give way, and were finally routed with considerable loss. In their flight they were impeded by the river Nen, which occasioned a greater slaughter, besides that many were drowned in attempting to repass it. Amongst the slain were the Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, the Earl of Shrewsbury (son of

* Toplis says on the 10th of July ; also Allen's Hist. of York.

† Some tell us that the Bishop of Hereford, a white friar and the King's confessor, encouraged the Lancastrians to fight ; and for this he was afterwards committed to the castle of Warwick, where he long remained a prisoner.

the great Lord Talbot, killed in the French war), and many others of high rank and merit. There were 10,000 men killed in this battle.* The slaughter was chiefly of the nobility, and many prisoners were taken.†

Lord Beaumont was the first nobleman who bore in England the title of viscount, with which King Henry had distinguished him, in 1439, and he had ever proved his faithful adherent. The Duke of Buckingham had also been firm in the interests of his royal master. In 1454 he had prepared the "Stafford knots," to distinguish his party; in 1455, at St. Alban's, he had been wounded while fighting by the King's side, and in that encounter he had lost his eldest son, Lord Stafford. For a short time, in 1456, however, he joined the Yorkists, being offended by the Queen's removal of his two relatives from the offices of Chancellor and Treasurer; but he soon returned to the Lancastrian side, and joined the royal standard at Northampton, where he lost his life. His remains were interred in the church of Grey Friars, at Northampton.‡

The unfortunate issue of the battle of Northampton may be attributed to the treachery of Lord Grey of Ruthin, of whom we are assured that he was tempted to betray the trust reposed in him, through his love of lucre, which led him to negotiate, previous to this battle, with the Earl of March, who promised him the estates of Ampethill (belonging to Lord Fanhope, a partisan of King Henry, and to which Lord Grey pretended a title), on condition that he would desert the

* Stow tells us, that "on the day of this battle, there was so great a rain "that the King's ordnance of guns might not be shot."

† Hall says "10,000 talle Englishmen and their King were taken."

‡ Paston Letters; Stow; Hall; Toplis; Sandford; Baker; Pennant; Lingard; Milles's Catalogue; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Lond. Chron.; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Rapin; Morant; Magna Britannica; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Bridge's Northampton; Allen's York.

Lancastrians with his followers, a strong body of Welshmen. This account appears more credible, when we consider the mercenary disposition of Lord Grey, as exhibited in the Paston Letters. This Lord, who carefully regarded his own interests, survived through four stormy reigns, and contrived to preserve his property with the favour of King Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.*

Alas! for the unfortunate Queen, thus suddenly deprived of her once loyal adherent! yet many others supported her cause, and sought to retrieve the misfortune by a vigorous resistance, until, driven back, and discomfited, on the edge of a stream, swollen by the heavy rains, they had no escape from the flood, or the sword, but to end the contest by a precipitate flight. The bodies of those who were slain were buried in the hospital of St. John, or in the church of the convent, called the Abbey de la Pré, in the town of Northampton.

The Queen, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset, with others who had escaped the battle, rode away with the utmost expedition into Yorkshire, and thence to Durham; they were, indeed, in the utmost alarm, lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. They still had hopes that they should be able to augment their forces, or to escape into Scotland, until a more favourable season for renewing the war.†

The King fell again into the power of the Yorkists, from whom, however, he received all the homage due to his rank, and even as much respect as he could have demanded in his most prosperous circumstances. This monarch, we are assured, if insensible to his change of fortune, received some consolation in his

* Dugdale; Paston Letters.

† Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin.

reverses from the deference shown him. He seemed born to a life of calamity, and he must have deeply felt the loss of his steady friends, experienced generals, and near relatives, who, one by one, fell in this ruthless warfare. He had, at this time, to regret the Duke of Buckingham, the proudest of England's lords, who had been granted the precedence of all other dukes, those excepted of the blood-royal. He had been advanced to his dukedom by the King himself, and was by blood allied to this monarch. Far different were his fortunes to those of Lord Grey of Ruthin. His grandson, the only heir to his estates, being but four years of age, became a ward to the King, and was consigned, along with Humphrey, his brother, to the care of Anne, Duchess of Exeter, with an allowance of 500 marks annually for their maintenance.

The victorious lords conducted King Henry, in a kind of procession to Northampton, soon after the battle, and there stayed until he came to London, which city he entered on the 16th of August following, attended by a great many of the Yorkists, who had so lately been in arms against him. These lords, with triumph, conducted their submissive monarch through the capital, and lodged him in the Bishop's palace. From this time until the meeting of Parliament, which was called in the name of the King to meet at Westminster on the 7th of October, (for the acknowledged object of healing the dissensions of the two parties), the Yorkists continued to pay their court assiduously to their meek and passive King. In all public affairs, meanwhile, they took upon themselves to act in the King's name, and they prevailed upon Henry to sign whatever orders were agreeable to their own interests.*

* Baker; Toplis; Hall; Lond. Chron.; W. of Worcester; Hume; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Rapin; Henry; Bridge's Northampton.

William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, had been appointed High Chancellor in 1456, in the room of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had held this office under the Yorkists. This Bishop was a learned and zealous prelate, eminent for his piety, amiability of temper, and his great compassion towards the poor. These distinguishing characteristics marked him as one of those beloved of the saintly monarch, who delighted in rest and peace and holy converse. With such a companion as this King Henry passed his time; and we find that even when compelled to approach the battle-field, and listen to the din of war, previous to the encounter at Northampton, this Bishop was with his beloved sovereign.* The object of this prelate was to resign his chancellorship; not that he was less firm in his attachment to his royal master's interests, but that this had been imputed to him by Pope Pius II. To free him from this charge, the King addressed a letter to his Holiness, wherein he speaks of the bishop's services to him in the administration, and adds, that such had been his conduct as should preserve his character from censure.† It was on the 7th of July, 1460, that Waynfleet made this resignation to the King, in the presence of the Bishops of Hereford and Durham, and others, in King Henry's tent, then pitched in a field called "Hardingstone Field," near the Abbey of St. Mary "de Pratis," not far from Northampton. This great seal of silver was, by the King's orders, deposited in a chest, in his tent, the key of it being delivered to him.

The Yorkists, having again recovered their authority, through their success at Northampton, now furiously assaulted the Tower of London, which was besieged

1460.
Baker;
Sandford;
Paston
Letters.

* Birch's *Illust. Persons of Great Britain*.

† Edward IV., when established on the throne, treated Waynfleet with consideration, notwithstanding his attachment to King Henry VI.

by the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock. This fortress had been held by the Lords Scales and Hungerford, having with them also the High Sheriff of Kent, and John Dalamara of the county of Berks, and others ; but all their loyalty was unavailing—they were compelled to surrender to their besiegers. This they did, but conditionally, that they should depart free—a privilege, however, which was not accorded them by the new Governor, the Earl of Warwick ; for it appears that Lord Scales, attempting to escape from the Tower, in order to reach the Sanctuary at Westminster, and having, as described by the chronicler, “ explored the Thames by night, in “ disguised apparel, was descried by a woman,” and was killed in a conflict by the sailors of the Earls of Warwick and March, beneath the wall of the Bishop of Winchester’s house, on the banks of the river. He was despoiled of his clothes, and left naked for many hours, lying on the earth in the cemetery, near the porch of the church of St. Mary of Overy, in Southwark. At length, on the same day, he was honourably interred by the Earls of Warwick, March, and others. Thomas Lord Scales was regarded as a nobleman of distinguished worth and great loyalty. He was sixty-two years of age.*

The contest between the two parties seemed now to have terminated, the chief of the Lancastrians being killed, or imprisoned, Queen Margaret and her son having fled, and the weak King Henry being at the disposal of his enemies ; but torrents of blood were yet to be shed before this fatal quarrel should be ended. This was owing chiefly to the political timidity of the Duke of York, and the courage and activity of the Queen. George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, was ap-

* Stow ; Baker ; Sandford ; W. of Worcester ; Paston Letters ; Maitland’s London.

pointed Chancellor on the 25th of July, and Lord Bouchiere, Treasurer.

At the meeting of Parliament on the 7th of October, 1460, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland and Devonshire, as well as others of the Lancastrian party, did not dare to appear. Only the Yorkists were present. The Earl of Warwick obtained from the King a grant of the government of Calais, and the Duke of Somerset was commanded to give up to him that of Guisnes. The Duke of York and his friends, viz., the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, Lords Clifford and Clinton, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir John Wenlock, and others, were all declared good and loyal subjects. Also, in this Parliament, all the acts were repealed which had been passed at the last meeting at Coventry. The King was obliged to sanction all these measures with his authority, and indeed whatever the victors required. Almost all the archbishops, bishops, and abbots attended during this session.*

1460.
Holinshed ;
W. of Worcester ;
Hume ;
Rapin.

The victory of the Yorkists at Northampton had once more called the Duke from Ireland, on which occasion the attachment of his adherents was eminently evinced in this country. They flocked around him in vast numbers, uttering violent professions of fidelity and of resolution.†

The friends of the Duke of York were anxiously desiring his presence in London to direct their future proceedings. Nor did the Duke fail to take advantage of this turn of fortune in his favour. He hastened to London, and entered the capital with sound of trumpets, an armed retinue of 500 horsemen, and a drawn sword was carried before him. It was the second day of the meeting of Parliament when the Duke arrived.

* W. of Worcester ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Henry.

† Leland.

He alighted from his horse at Westminster, and proceeded directly to the House of Lords, placed himself under the canopy of state, and with his hand upon the throne stood for some minutes, as if expecting to be invited to take the seat. During this period of suspense the total silence of the house sufficiently convinced the Duke that the members were not all favourable to his purpose, and to add to the confusion he evinced, the Archbishop of Canterbury, advancing towards him, inquired "if he would not go and pay his respects to the King?" Upon this the Duke coloured deeply, and hastily replying, that "he knew no one to whom he owed that honour," withdrew instantly to his own house.

The Duke perceived that it was quite in vain to expect to be solicited to receive the crown, and resolved to throw aside the mask with which he had hitherto disguised his actions, and openly assert his claims. Accordingly, on the following morning, he sent in to Parliament a written statement of the grounds whereon he rested his pretensions, and these were debated, according to the several abilities and dispositions of the members, with great earnestness.*

The Duke began by stating that he derived his descent from Henry III., by Lionel, third son of Edward III., Richard II. having resigned; Henry, Earl of Derby, who was the son of John of Ghent, the younger brother of Lionel, contrary to all right, inherited the crowns of England and France and the Lordship of Ireland, which lawfully belonged to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, great grandson to the said Lionel, and thence by right, law, and custom descended to himself, being the lineal representative of Roger

* Pol. Vergil; Leland; Baker; Allen's York; Moore's Ireland; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; London Chron.; Fabyan.

Mortimer. The following day the Duke required an immediate answer.

It was the first time that the Duke of York had publicly urged his claims to the crown. The people were not yet prepared to depose their beloved monarch. His inoffensive character had attached his subjects to him. His family had filled the throne for three generations. He had himself reigned thirty-nine years. Most of the Yorkists had received their honours, and some their estates, from him. The Duke of York had sworn fealty to King Henry when he succeeded to the inheritance of the Earl of March, from whom he derived his claims; he had done so when he was appointed to the government of Normandy, and again when made Lieutenant of Ireland. When he became Protector he had acknowledged him as his king; and he had, besides, frequently sworn on the Sacrament to be faithful to him. All this had induced many of his adherents to think that he did not, in reality, aim at the crown; and this also accounts for their apathy upon his first endeavours to attain his object, and for the murmurs of the people. The Lords resolved to wait on the King and receive his commands.

When these claims were made known to the King, he replied, "My father was king; his father was also "king. I have worn the crown forty years from my "cradle: you have all sworn fealty to me as your "sovereign, and your fathers have done the like to "my fathers. How then can my right be disputed?" To this he added, "therefore I say with King David, "my lot is fallen in a fair ground, I have a goodly "heritage: my help is from the Lord, which saveth "the upright in heart."

1460.
Lingard.

It must be remembered that, in England, there was no Salic law, by which females were excluded from the succession, and Richard of York was descended by

the female line from the second son of Edward III., while King Henry's rights and those of his father and grandfather came only from the third son; nevertheless the crown had been confirmed by Parliament to those Lancastrians more than sixty years, and the Duke was obliged to act with caution in gaining to his interests the members of that body, since he required their assistance to carry out his designs.*

The Parliament, in favour of Henry, agreed that his grandfather, Henry IV., took possession of the throne without opposition. To this the Duke's friends replied, that the Earl of March, then alive, could not without danger dispute it with him, but that his silence ought not to be construed into consent. Secondly, it was said that Henry IV. obtained the crown by consent of Parliament; but, it was answered for the Duke, that he was not disposed to act without that power, but that Parliament, having once deviated from established custom in favour of the House of Lancaster, they had no less powerful inducements to render justice to the Duke of York. Thus much was said respecting the authority of Parliament without calling it in question; as it was intended that its power should be instrumental in raising the Duke of York to the throne. Thirdly, Richard II.'s resignation was next brought forward by the Lancastrians. Here the Yorkists expressed a doubt as to the power of a monarch while in the hands of his enemies, about to depose him, to determine the succession. It was also denied that it favoured the House of Lancaster, or even Henry IV. himself. Fourthly, it was asserted, that the Earl of Cambridge having been put to death for high treason, his posterity were thus rendered incapable of any inheritance. But, in reply, it

* Lingard; Wethamstede; Rapin; Howel's Med. Hist. Angl.; Milles's Catalogue.

was urged that the Duke of York had been acknowledged by this title, as well as that of Earl of March, not only by the King, but by all the nation, and that he had also been restored to all his rights and honorary distinctions. Fifthly, it was argued that the crown had remained in the Lancastrian line during a period of forty years. The Duke's friends reasoned that the crown was a natural right, and ought not to be set aside by any positive law. Sixthly, it was finally represented for the King, that having, during a reign of thirty-eight years, led so harmless and pacific a life that no person had conceived any offence against him, it would be cruel to deprive him of the crown. This argument had great influence over the minds of the ministers, so much were they prepossessed in favour of the King; but the Duke's friends again replied, that by leaving the crown to Henry no kindness was conferred upon him, owing to his inability to govern; but that it was rather bestowing it on the Queen and her ministers, who had already made such bad use of their power; nor did they deem it just, that the nation should suffer for the sake of the King, or an injustice be allowed from a charitable motive. Though all this was urged, the Council came to the decision, that the King should still wear the crown during his life, but that the Duke of York should be acknowledged his successor.

In all the proceedings of these Lords their attachment to King Henry appears to have been great, for, since the title of the Duke could not be defeated, they yet refused to proceed to the next step, namely, to dethrone their monarch.

An act of Parliament was then passed to this effect, that the Duke of York, notwithstanding his undoubted right to the crown, willingly agreed that King Henry should enjoy it during his life, and would readily

swear to obey him as his lawful sovereign ; but that, should this agreement be in any way broken through by the King, the Duke of York, or his heirs, should immediately succeed to the throne ; that the Duke should be proclaimed heir apparent and protector of the King's person, lands, and dominions. The Duke and his two sons, the Earls of March and Rutland, took oath not to molest the King, and to support him on the throne. The royal assent was obtained to this bill, which, besides declaring the Duke of York heir apparent, granted to him and his sons certain estates on that account, and made it high treason for any one who should make any attempts against his person.*

It can hardly be imagined that the ambitious views of the Duke of York did not carry him beyond this arrangement, by which it might be a considerable time, if, indeed, he should ever be able to attain to the rank of sovereignty ; but probably the very extraordinary moderation of Richard Duke of York disposed him to concede a point which he foresaw could only be gained by the sword ; and he adopted a line of conduct very different from what might have been expected from him, considering that he had at this time a victorious army to support his title, which had been acknowledged to be just in the Council ; so that it seemed but a little more effort was required on his part to secure the throne. Some persuasion only was necessary for him to get the crown awarded to him by Parliament, it being the custom of that House to decide in favour of the stronger party. It is evident, however, that its members were not overawed by the Duke's power, but felt at liberty to decide, according to their unbiased judgment ; yet it is the more sur-

* Baker ; Sandford ; Stow ; Pol. Vergil ; Leland ; W. of Worcester ; Lond. Chron. ; Rapin ; Henry ; Allen's York ; Hume ; Lingard ; Fabyan.

prising that the Duke did not make use of his advantage, since it must be remembered that, being older than Henry, he could hardly expect to outlive him.

The decision of Parliament was succeeded by a formal procession to St. Paul's, where the King appeared wearing his crown, attended by the Duke of York, as heir apparent. This happened on All Saints' Day, and on the Saturday following Richard Duke of York was proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, heir apparent to the crown, and "Protector" of the realm.*

The agreement into which King Henry had entered was highly prejudicial to his family; especially to the young prince, his son; yet this monarch made no effort to alter the situation of affairs, but quietly submitted the management of public business to the care of the Duke of York and his party, with whose arrangements he appeared contented, while he was consoled under this species of servitude by occupying himself wholly in religious exercises.†

Two portentous omens were at this time noticed by the superstitious. While the Duke of York was declaring his title in the upper house, in the lower a crown, which was hanging in the middle of this building, being an ornament to a chandelier, without any wind or movement to occasion it, fell down, as did also another crown from the top of Dover castle; both indicating, as was thought, a change in the dynasty. Polydore Vergil says, "Such was the pleasure of God, that King Henry, a most holy man, should by so many calamities wherewithal he was continually afflicted, be deprived of this earthly kingdom, to enjoy forthwith the everlasting; for a good man can never be but good, though he suffer a thousand afflictions." ‡

* Rot. Parl.; Stow; Fabyan; Lingard; Rapin.

† Rapin; Allen's York.

‡ Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil.

The Duke of York, who had now become not only absolute master of the government, but also of the King's person, prevailed upon Henry to sign an order for the Queen to repair to him. Letters were despatched into Scotland requiring, in the name of the King, that Queen Margaret, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all others of the English nobility in that kingdom, should speedily repair to the royal presence in London. By this manœuvre the Duke of York hoped to find a pretext to banish Margaret the kingdom, for he felt his own power would be insecure while the Queen's influence might clash with his interests. He well knew that, in the present posture of affairs, she dared not to obey this command of her husband, and venture into the midst of her enemies; and by thus rendering her criminal by her refusal, he hoped to justify his future proceedings against her. He thought he should have the good fortune to get rid of his rival, by raising an impediment to her return, and he vainly imagined that Margaret would be left without resource.

In this Richard of York had formed an erroneous estimate of the Queen's character. Her masculine spirit was not to be so easily intimidated by dangers and difficulties, and, far from being dismayed by her late misfortunes, she appears to have been, on the contrary, stimulated to the most active exertions.*

The Queen had, after the defeat at Northampton, fled with Somerset and others, to Durham; but she secretly withdrew from that city, attended only by eight persons, bearing with her the young prince, her son, for whose safety she showed great anxiety. Margaret, when flying with this little escort from Eccleshall to Chester, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by John Cleger, one of Lord Stanley's

* Hall; Baker; Stow; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

servants; and was also robbed of her jewels and apparel* by her own attendants, but finally succeeded in reaching Wales, where Queen Margaret thought herself secure.

King Henry had been passing his time during the last session of Parliament at Eltham and Greenwich, in hunting, while his consort and son were, with the Duke of Exeter and a few trusty followers, enduring many adversities in Wales; although, for a brief period, protected by the valour of David-ap-Jevan-ap-Enion, governor of the fortress of Harlech,† in Merionethshire, where these fugitives had sought refuge.‡

1460.
Paston
Letters.

The Duke of Somerset, it would appear, had gone to Dieppe, and with him the Lords Whittingham, John Ormond, Sir Andrew Trollop, and others of the garrison of Guisnes, having a safe conduct from the King of France. It was rumoured that Somerset purposed to join the Queen in Wales.

The Queen made but a short stay in Wales, where she had experienced many disasters, and afterwards sailed, with her son, to one of the ports of Scotland. It is deeply interesting to contemplate at this time the maternal solicitude of Queen Margaret; who, from the period of the disastrous issue of the late engagement, seemed to be no less occupied in the care of her son's personal safety than in maintaining the interests of her unfortunate husband.§

1460.
Stow;
Pennant;
Rudland;
Lingard.

James II., King of Scotland, on hearing of the

* Stow says this robbery was to the amount of 10,000 marks.

† There is still a tower in Harlech Castle called by the name of Margaret of Anjou, where she abode during this season of adversity.

‡ Paston Letters; Stow; Toplis; Fabyan; Allen's York; Hay's Biog.; Rapin; Hume; W. of Worcester; Henry; Lingard; Wraxall's Tour.; Lewis's Topographical Dictionary.

§ Paston Letter; W. of Worcester; Stow; Ridpath; Allen's York; Pennant's Wales; Toplis; Lingard; Rudland's Snowden; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Lewis's Top. Dict.

defeat of the Lancastrians, at Northampton, was instantly excited by this event to take up arms.

With a numerous army he laid siege to Roxburg castle, a fortress which had long been in the power of the English, and was at this time held by William Neville, Lord Fauconberg. While engaged upon this siege, the Scottish monarch was accidentally killed by the bursting of a cannon-ball, when in the flower of his age, and to the great grief of his widow, his army, and his people. His country was again exposed to a minority, and was from this period torn by divisions, and similar troubles to those which were occurring in England. Some consolation might have been felt by this people at first, while deploring the loss of their young and warlike monarch; when they beheld his spirited and energetic Queen, Mary of Gueldres, who, arriving immediately in the camp, with the infant heir, and showing him to the army, with tears in her eyes, conjured them, by the memory of their sovereign, and by the renown of Scottish valour, not to quit the siege until they had reduced this fortress. The eloquence of the Queen prevailed—the castle was taken, and levelled to the ground.

In the wars of the Roses, the party of the Lancastrians had ever been espoused by King James, from his personal relation to the families of Somerset and Gaunt; also because his ally, the King of France, lent his assistance to the English monarch, which is proved by his treaties whenever King Henry resumed his authority.

The death of King James was preceded a few days by that of Charles VII., of France, who was said to have starved himself to avoid the risk of being poisoned by his own son, Lewis XI., his successor.*

* Stow; Holinshed; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Rapin.

From Scotland, Queen Margaret returned to the north of England, where she employed every persuasion in her power to induce the Barons to aid her cause ; and she succeeded in a short time in raising a new army in Yorkshire.

Upon the decision of Parliament, with respect to the succession of Richard Duke of York to the throne, Queen Margaret, whose maternal feelings were insulted, publicly expressed her displeasure at the injury done to her son by his exclusion from the throne of his forefathers, which she fully resolved and declared she would revenge, and also release her husband from his present thralldom. Her courage and natural abilities seconded this determination ; for she was indeed gifted, not only with the accomplishments of her own sex, but richly endowed with the courage and talents of the other, without their failings.*

This Queen's vigour and spirit supporting her small power, enabled her to maintain the interests of her son, and of those who still adhered to the House of Lancaster.

Unfurling her standard in the neighbourhood of York, there soon rallied around it the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Clifford, Dacre, and Neville, and these were speedily joined by the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire, with their followers from those counties, who came by way of Bath, Cirencester, Evesham, and Coventry.

A Council was then held by these northern chieftains at York, in which the destruction of the Yorkists was determined upon.†

These northern barons could not but compassionate the helpless condition of their Queen ; and when they

* Hall ; Sandford ; W. of Worcester ; Ridpath ; Leland ; Rapin ; Hume ; Female Worthies.

† Sandford ; Hall ; W. of Worcester ; Lingard ; Henry ; Historical View of Northumberland.

beheld her affability and condescension, as well as the dexterity she displayed in winning their favour, for she spared no pains to insinuate herself by promises and assurances, their admiration of her talents inspired them with the resolution to endeavour to restore her to the throne.

The pride of these nobles, who regarded themselves as the most valiant in the kingdom, had been wounded by the disposal of the crown without their having been consulted, and their indignation at this stimulated them to revenge themselves. Thus their private pique came to the aid of the Queen's enterprise. Their desire of revenge also sufficiently accounts for the rapacity and thirst for plunder which marked the subsequent progress of these northern barons; they having promised the people, in order to allure them to join in the war, that they would permit them to plunder all the country south of the Trent. By these means an army of 18,000, or 20,000 men was collected with an expedition which surprised the friends of Queen Margaret, and no less astonished her enemies.*

Almost all the northern barons joined this army, and thus powerfully supported, the Queen set out, bending her course to the south, and taking her son with her.

Information had been conveyed to the Duke of York of the Queen's attempts to raise an army, and although ignorant of her great success, he prepared immediately to oppose her, thinking that he could not be too speedy, as he well knew that her spirit and activity were the enemies he had most to apprehend.

1460.
W. of Worcester.

Parliament having been adjourned in December, the Duke of York took with him the Earl of Salisbury and an army amounting to 4000, or 5000 † men, and having

* Hume ; Baker ; Stow ; Henry ; Historical Survey of Northumberland ; Allen's York.

† One writer says 6000 men.

first committed the care of the King to his trusty friends, the Earls of Norfolk and Warwick, he marched from London towards York. As he proceeded, he obtained intelligence of the Queen's superior numbers, and considered it advisable to delay an engagement until his son, the Earl of March, whom he had commanded to follow him, with the rest of his forces, should join him. Upon reaching Wakefield, therefore, he withdrew to Sandal Castle, where he arrived on the 21st of December. Here he kept the Christmas Day, along with the Earl of Salisbury ; while the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the rest of the Queen's forces, were lying at Pontefract. The castle of Sandal was strongly fortified, and the Duke of York thought himself secure, for he was convinced that the Queen could not force it.*

Queen Margaret dared not, indeed, attack this castle, being unprovided with artillery ; and she was much mortified to see her enemy thus sheltered from her assault, especially, as in her present circumstances, having the superiority in numbers, she had every reason to expect success, could she engage the Duke in battle. She could not feel equally certain that, after the delay which would give time for the arrival of the Earl of March, she should have as good a chance of success ; she therefore did all she could to provoke her enemy, and entice him to come out and meet her in the field. She exerted all her ingenuity to effect her purpose ; she placed some troops in ambush on each side of Wakefield Green, one of them commanded by Lord Clifford, the other by the Earl of Wiltshire, while the main body of her army was led on by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter. Then, making her appearance before the walls of Sandal Castle, she sought, by various

* Stow ; Hall ; W. of Worcester ; Fabyan ; Paston Letters ; Leland ; Allen's York ; Rapin ; Hume ; Henry.

means, to provoke the Duke to battle ; by turns she threatened and challenged him, and even taunted him with aspiring to wear a crown, when he had not even courage to fight a woman.*

The Duke of York had hitherto been distinguished for prudence and sound judgment, and during the wars in France had obtained great credit for discretion and good conduct ; but, unfortunately for himself on this occasion, he suffered his valour to get the better of his reason, or his animosity against the Queen to blind him, so as to make him commit an error, which was unpardonable in so great a general. Rapin says he was driven to it by the failure of provisions in the castle, and another historian confirms this. He tells us, that “ while the troops of the Duke of York were “ wandering through the country in search of provisions, “ a dreadful battle took place ; ” however this may have been, the Duke sallied forth from his retreat, and on hearing the taunts of the Queen, exclaimed, “ What, “ shall it be said, that York was blocked up in his camp “ by a woman, without daring to fight ! ”

Quite contrary to the advice of his friends, the Duke of York drew up his forces on Wakefield Green, relying on his own courage and experience to compensate for the deficiency of his numbers. This was exactly what the Queen desired ; and, drawing up her army in order of battle, she was the first to begin the engagement.†

Upon this day the Queen is said to have harangued her troops in person, and the Chevalier Baudier has thus transmitted to us her speech :

“ You bear this day, my loyal English, the justest “ arms that ever appeared in any war, as being em- “ ployed to restore liberty to your King, who is now a

* Baker ; Stow ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin ; Henry ; Hume ; Female Worthies.

† Hall ; Baker ; Paston Letters ; W. of Worcester ; Stow ; Pol. Vergil ; Allen's York ; Female Worthies ; Rapin ; Henry ; Hume ; Lingard.

“prisoner, and the succession of the crown to his son,
“which a lawless tyrant has taken from him by
“violence; for this reason, I ought not to doubt but
“that you will behave yourselves valiantly, and that
“each of you have already proposed to yourselves the
“illustrious name which you are going to acquire, of
“deliverers of your King, and protectors of the prince,
“his son.

“If you have a woman for your general, and fight
“under her command, the advantage you will receive
“from thence is not inconsiderable; for, if the King
“were here present in person, the booty would be the
“only share you would have in the consequences of
“the victory, whilst he would engross all the glory of
“the success. The King being absent, you will now
“have both, and the world will sooner give the
“honour of the victory to your valour, than to my
“conduct.

“I hope, however, you will see to-day that there is
“no other difference between the generals of the two
“armies, besides that of their sex. I see already in
“your looks the courage which inspires your hearts,
“and the resolution you have taken either to conquer
“or die, and that none shall be able to reproach you
“that, on so important an occasion, you have done less
“than a woman, who puts herself at your head.”

As Queen Margaret concluded her speech, the whole army set up a loud shout, and held up their arms in token of their willingness to serve her.

When the fight began, the Queen, who commanded in person, rode through all the battalions, animating and encouraging her soldiers to do their duty.*

These were not deficient in valour, for, at the first onset, they attacked the Duke with such fury, that he instantly felt the superiority which the Royalists had

* Baudier ; Female Worthies ; Biographie Universelle.

over him in point of numbers ; and while he was thus hard pressed by the army in front, the troops, who had been placed in ambush, issuing forth, fell upon him in the rear so unexpectedly, that his forces were thrown into the utmost disorder, and in less than half an hour were completely routed. The Duke himself was killed while fighting with great valour, and his son, the Earl of Rutland, a boy of but twelve years of age, flying with his tutor from the field, was taken prisoner by Lord Clifford, who barbarously despatched him with his dagger, in spite of the earnest prayers of his tutor that his life might be spared. It has been said, probably in excuse for this cruel action, that the father of Lord Clifford had been slain in the battle of St. Albans, and his son had taken an oath not to leave one branch of the line of York standing. In this battle were killed Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir David Hall, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Harrington, Thomas Harrington, and others. Many of those who perished at this time, were young gentlemen of distinction, and heirs of noble families in the south of England.

The body of the Duke of York being afterwards discovered by Lord Clifford, he cut off the head, and, affixing it to his lance, with a paper crown placed on it, by way of derision, presented it thus to the Queen, saying, "Madam, your war is done ; here is your "king's ransom," upon which we are told Queen Margaret commanded that it should be set up on the walls of York. The Earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and beheaded by martial law, with several others, persons of distinction, at Pontefract. At this place were interred, by the consent of the lords, the bodies of the Duke of York,* the Earls of Salisbury

* The remains of the Duke of York were afterwards removed to the collegiate church of Fotheringay.

and Rutland, and others, and their heads were placed over different parts of York. *

Thus ended the battle of Wakefield Green,† fought on the 29th of December,‡ 1460; in this encounter 3,000§ Yorkists were slain; yet, this victory served only to accelerate the downfall of the Lancastrians. Some writers inform us that the Duke of York was taken alive, and was made the subject of derision by his conquerors; who, placing him on a molehill, with a garland on his head made of bulrushes (instead of a crown), knelt before him, crying, “Hail King without rule; hail King without heritage; hail Duke and Prince, without people, or possessions!” Having thus, with many angry words, vented their scorn and reproach, they cut off his head, and presented it to the Queen.||

1460.
Sandford;
Toplis;
W. of Wor-
cester;
Ridpath;
Rapin;
Henry;
Hume;
Lingard.

The Duke of York was much lamented by his followers, and not without reason. His faults were such as only spring from qualities calculated to render him beloved and esteemed, and he doubtless deserved a better fate. His enemy, the Duke of Somerset, used to say of him, “That, if he had not learnt to “play the king, by his Regency in France, he had “never forgot to obey as a subject.” The Duke lost his life in the fiftieth year of his age. He left three sons and three daughters; the former were Edward, Earl of March, George, and Richard; the latter were Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.¶

* Stow; Baker; Sandford; Hall; Toplis; Leland; Allen’s York; Wethamstede; W. of Worcester; Paston Letters; Milles’s Catalogue; Rapin; Rot. Parl.; Pol. Vergil; Ridpath; London Chron.; Female Worthies; Hume; Habington; Watson’s Halifax; Pennant; Burdy’s Ireland; Henry; Lingard; Femmes Célèbres; Rudland’s Journey to Snowden.

† This battle, we are also informed, was fought in the south fields, near Wakefield, by the bridge of nine arches.

‡ Some writers date this engagement the 24th, some the 31st, of December.

§ Lingard tells us 2000 only were slain.

|| Milles’s Catalogue. ¶ Sandford; Allen’s York; Hume; Holinshed.

Shakespeare has faithfully exhibited the character of the Duke of York, where he makes him to despise the inequality of the number of his forces, to those of the Queen, and to exclaim,—

“ Five men to twenty, though the odds be great,
 “ I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.
 “ Many a battle have I won in France,
 “ When as the enemy hath been ten to one ;
 “ Why should I not now have the like success ? ”

But this rash confidence cost him his castle and his life. On the spot where he fell, a stone memorial was erected, when his party were again in the ascendant, and continued there until the contests of the seventeenth century, which occasioned its removal.*

This great victory at Wakefield, which may be said to have been achieved by the courage and perseverance of Queen Margaret, seemed to promise security to King Henry's crown, but its ultimate effects were the contrary. The defeat of their leader aroused the fiercest animosities of all the supporters of the House of York ; it excited the energies of Edward, the son of the Duke of York, and aroused the pride and talents of the potent Warwick ; in short, all the latent zeal of this party was, at once, called forth against their conquerors, and all became ambitious of wiping away the dishonour of the late encounter. A deadly retaliation ensued, which neither the talents of the Queen, or of her generals, or the sanctity and virtues of the King, could arrest. The contest, from this time, bore a decided character ; the desire for revenge giving to the parties a firmness they had never before exhibited.†

Amidst the rejoicings of the Queen for her late victory, she, unhappily, did not exhibit those feelings of compassion for the vanquished, which ever adorn

* Warner's Tour. ; Lingard : Hist. and Antiquities of York.

† Lingard.

humanity ; and, either yielding to her resentment against the Duke of York, or, possibly, in compliance with the wishes of Lord Clifford, she commanded the head of her great enemy, Richard of York, to be set up on the walls of York, and in ridicule of his pretensions, as it was said, "that York might overlook " the town of York."

The brutality of character of Lord Clifford has been already exhibited, and it seems far more probable that this act, commanded by the Queen, was granted to his suggestions rather than to gratify herself. In like manner, Queen Margaret might have conceded her own sentiments to the exigency of the times, in permitting the northern Barons to use the privilege of plundering the country south of the Trent; for this permission was indeed highly injurious to her interests; and we find the further progress of the army marked by fire and sword, to which the monasteries, churches, and private houses, were alike sacrificed.*

Thus did the Queen, with her northern army, hasten on to make sure of the capital, without which neither party could be established.

While advancing towards London, she received information that the Earl of March was on his way to meet her; but, being ignorant of the number of his forces, she continued her route; sending only a detachment against him, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke.†

Edward, Earl of March, was at Gloucester, when he learnt the melancholy news of the fate of his father and brother. He went immediately to Shrewsbury, where the inhabitants were strongly attached to him, and desired their help to avenge his father's death. He increased his army to 23,000 men in these parts; and then set out in quest of the Queen. He had

* Henry.

† Baker ; Rapin ; Hume.

been much dismayed by the defeat and death of his father, for whose assistance he had been then preparing, and he now resolved, not only to revenge himself, but to maintain the quarrel of his House, whatever it might cost him; indeed, there appeared no retreat; for, having once been driven to such desperate measures, nothing short of the extinction of one of the factions could give peace, and establish the authority of the other.

The Earl of March had been encouraged by the hope of aid from the Earl of Warwick, who had been left in London, by the Duke of York, for the defence of that city. When, as he proceeded on his march, Edward learnt that Queen Margaret was bending her course towards the capital, he altered his route, and made an attempt to get to London before her.

Finding, however, that some troops had been dismissed by Queen Margaret to oppose him, and that thus he had two enemies to encounter, between whom he must necessarily have passed, had he proceeded towards the metropolis, he suddenly changed his resolution, and, turning back, prepared to meet the Earl of Pembroke, who, by the Queen's orders, was advancing, accompanied by the Earls of Ormond and Wiltshire, with their forces, chiefly composed of Welsh and Irish.*

At this time, when the son of the Duke of York was thus engaged, seeking to avenge his father's death, letters were addressed by King Henry (in this last year of his reign, as it proved) to the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Dacre, Delaware, Cobham, and Abergavenny; also to some of the sheriffs and justices of the peace, mayors, and private individuals in Kent, dated on the 28th of January, 1461. That Henry

* Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Fosbroke's Gloucestershire.

was in the power of the Yorkists, is evidenced by the statements in these letters, "that the King had certain information that those misruled and outrageous people in the north parts of this realm had been coming towards these parts to the destruction there of you, and subversion of all our land; and the persons addressed were commanded to come to the King, in all possible haste, with as many followers as they could collect, he being about to proceed in person against his enemies."*

These armies met on a small level plain, called Kingsland Field, near Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, on Candlemas-day, the 2nd of February, 1461.

1461.
Toplis;
Paston
Letters;
Ridpath;
Lingard.

The superiority of numbers was, upon this occasion, great on the side of the Yorkists; and the Earl of Pembroke was speedily defeated, with a loss of 2,800 men.† The disparity of numbers, although very great (and some say that the Earl of March had 60,000, others asserting he had 51,000 men, while Pembroke had but 8,000), was not the only cause of the success of the young heir of York. The historians relate that this engagement took place in the morning, when the sun appeared of such dazzling brightness, that the Earl of March is recorded to have beheld three suns, which again suddenly united into one; and this sight so animated the courage of the youthful Edward, that he rapidly dispersed his enemies.‡ It has been supposed that, on account of this circumstance, the Earl of March gave the sun in its full brightness for his cognizance. The Earl of Pembroke saved himself by flight; but Owen Tudor,

1461.
Pennant.

* Sir H. Nicolas's Proceedings of the Privy Council.

† One writer tells us that the loss was 3,800; others, 4,000.

‡ Lingard dates this battle the 1st of February, and says 4,000 royalists were slain; Toplis says also 4,000; Baker, 3,800; Stow, 3,800.

his father, being taken with some others, suffered death at Hereford, to revenge the like punishment inflicted upon the Earl of Salisbury and his friends after the battle of Wakefield Green. Owen Tudor was interred in the church of Grey Friars at Hereford.*

The news of this defeat reached Queen Margaret, but did not arrest her progress. She was bent on entering the capital, and did not think her late victory complete, until she had released her husband from his captivity. This she resolved to effect, even though she might lose her life in the attempt. Accordingly, after the battle of Wakefield Green, she led on her victorious troops towards London. The progress of this great army, composed of Scots, Welsh, foreigners, as well as English, was, from this time, marked by rapine and destruction. Presuming on the license granted them, and having passed the river Trent, they spared neither towns nor churches. They destroyed the towns of Grantham, Stanford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Royston, and others, all, indeed, in their way to the capital. They robbed the churches of all that was valuable, bearing away crosses, chalices, books, or ornaments; and thus indulging their licentiousness, they arrived at Dunstable and St. Alban's. At this last place no command, even from the King himself, could stay their ravages of the town, and of its venerable abbey.

The Abbey of St. Alban's had been, in stormy times, a place of refuge for the poor peasants, who even drove thither their cattle for safety, while the battle raged without its walls. All the woods and forests of the land provided its timber and game; and corn,

* Sandford; Toplis; Hall; Milles's Catalogue; Willement; Baker; Paston Letters; Howel; W. of Worcester; Peck's Stanford; Stow; Pol Vergil; Pennant; Ridpath; Hume; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Lingard; Rapin; Henry.

wine, and other produce, in abundance, were supplied to the needy applicants by the hospitable monks. The first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455, had spread devastation, both in the town and country, around this noble sanctuary; but houses were rebuilt, and the lands had just recovered their fertility, when a second battle renewed all the horrors of the former one; once again the wounded and the dying tottered to its sheltering walls, and the continual tolling bell announced the last sad office and closing service rendered for each one of those departed.

More ruthless this second warfare was than the first, which had seemed like the contest of brothers or relatives struggling for their much-vaunted rights; but far more sanguinary and cruel was the vengeance of these northern lords, whose pride had urged them forward to rush upon their country's ruin.

The progress of this destructive army, headed by the Queen herself, was arrested by the appearance of new forces, led on by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, Lord Bonville, and others, who came from London to oppose the Lancastrians.

It was the belief of Queen Margaret, that when she should appear before the capital, as the conqueror of the Duke of York, the gates would be thrown open to her, and that the inhabitants would, in their terror, drive out the Earl of Warwick. That this nobleman held the same opinion, there can be little doubt, since he preferred to go out of the city to meet the Queen; and, in doing so, he had his army considerably augmented by a body of the "trainbands" of London, which had been chiefly induced to join him through the alarm inspired by the ravages committed by the northern troops. They anticipated, doubtless, the imminent hazard of all their possessions, should these

“barbarians,” as they called them, be admitted into the city.*

The Earl of Warwick, taking with him the unfortunate King Henry, who seemed to be led about as a state prisoner, advanced to Bernard’s Heath, near St. Alban’s, where the two armies met, on Shrove Tuesday, the 17th of February, 1461.

1461.
Toplis ;
Stow ;
Sandford ;
Henry ;
Lingard.

The Queen had with her the Prince, her son, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, the Lords Roos, Graycodnore, Fitzhughe, Graystoke, Wells, and Willoughby, with many others ; the total number of her forces being 4,000 men. With this army Margaret entered St. Alban’s, intending to pass the town ; but they were arrested, near to the Cross in the market-place, by a body of archers, who dismissed such a volley of arrows, that they were speedily repulsed, with some loss, and compelled to return to the west end of the town, where again they had a sharp encounter ; but at length, after great slaughter on both sides, they passed the town, and arrived at Bernard’s Heath. Near the little town of Sunbridge, at a place named “No Man’s Land,” they met the army of the Yorkists, whose forces amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 men. Then came on a very severe and bloody conflict ; and, owing to some negligence or treachery on the part of Lovelace, one of the commanders of the Earl’s army, who quitted the field, the Queen gained the advantage, and finally defeated the Earl of Warwick, whose loss was estimated at 2,800 men.†

No person of distinction was killed in this engagement. Amongst the wounded, however, was Sir

* Hall ; Sandford ; Baker ; Lingard ; Baudier ; Rapin ; Henry.

† Rapin and Toplis say, 2,300, W. of Worcester 2,000, Stow 1,916 were slain.

James Lutterel, who died on the following day ; also Sir John Gray, Lord Ferrers, of Grosby, who only survived this battle a few days ; he died on the 28th of February, 1461. This nobleman had been a zealous supporter of the Lancastrian cause. He had led on the cavalry in the late battle, in which he received his mortal wound. He was not only valiant, but young and handsome ; and after losing his father, Sir Edward Gray, Lord Ferrers, in 1457, when he inherited the family estates, had married Elizabeth,* the eldest daughter of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, by whom he had two sons. At the close of the battle, Sir John was conveyed to the village of Colney. As night drew on, the Yorkists escaped by flight from apparent destruction, leaving their King alone† in the tent of the Earl of Warwick. It was here that he was discovered by Queen Margaret, when a tender interview took place between King Henry, his consort, and the young Prince ; the King embracing and kissing them “ in most loving wise, and yielding “ hearty thanks to Almighty God for the restoration “ of his son.”

Those who have called Queen Margaret an enemy of her husband, and of the English nation, must have formed this opinion from the political errors into which she had the misfortune to fall, owing to her youth, her inexperience, or her alliance to the royal family of France. Nothing has been transmitted to us by which we can entertain any doubt of the affection and fidelity of Queen Margaret to her husband.

We are informed that at the Queen's request, upon the occasion of their happy meeting, the King knighted

* This lady, after the death of Sir John Gray, became the queen of Edward IV.

† W. of Worcester and some others say, the King was found in the camp with Lord Montague, his chamberlain.

his son, Edward, Prince of Wales (who was then seven years of age), as well as thirty noblemen and gentlemen,* who had displayed great valour in the preceding battle.†

They afterwards proceeded to St. Alban's Abbey, where the Abbot welcomed them, and anthems were sung. A humble petition was offered to the King for the protection of this abbey, and the town, from the outrages of the soldiers. He at once granted this request; but, although proclamation was made to that effect, it was in vain; the northern soldiers declaring that they had been promised the spoils wherever they went south of the Trent, they presumed on their privilege, and continued their ravages.

King Henry also issued orders for the arrest of the Earl of March, but this command was as futile as the preceding one.‡

It is related that the King, with his accustomed kindness of heart, visited the young Lord Gray, who, at the village of Colney, was drawing near the close of his mortal career. Possibly he was clinging to life, as mostly is the case in youth, and Henry sought to afford him consolation in the approach of death, by directing his thoughts to the only refuge upon which he had based his own hopes. A contemporary writer tells us, also, that the dying lord received the honour of knighthood from his beloved monarch, who then conferred upon him the distinction for the sake of his two sons,§ Sir Thomas and Sir Richard; their father, Sir John, having been prevented by the intestine divi-

* Among these were the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Roos.

† Hall; Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Fabyan; Baker; W. of Worcester; Milles's Catalogue; Morant; Lond. Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Pennant; Lingard; Henry; Femmes Célèbres.

‡ Baker; Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

§ Of one of these sons we learn that Sir Thomas was created, in 1471, Earl of Huntingdon, and in 1475 Marquis of Dorset.

sions in the country, from taking his seat in the House of Peers. Twelve persons, besides Sir John, were knighted at this time by the King,[†] at the village of Colney.

Several persons of distinction were beheaded after the late battle; although, as it is said, their lives had been granted by the King. Amongst those were Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell, knight, who were seized and put to death in the presence of Prince Edward, at St. Alban's, upon Ash Wednesday; and it was reported this barbarity was in retaliation for the execution of Lord Hungerford, at Hereford.*

Queen Margaret has been charged with this cruelty, and it is probable the Queen did, in the heat of victory, and in the spirit of retaliation, give this command. Barbarous as it may appear, we must pause at the consideration of her reprehensibleness, when we are called upon to do justice to the varied accounts of this period. Two questions arise; viz., were these orders given for the indulgence of her own private animosity, or for the gratification of some of the Lancastrian faction? Stow relates that Bonville was put to death through party violence, at the instance of the Queen, the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Devonshire.†

Many of our historians cast the odium of this transaction on the Queen only. They state that, when the flight of the Yorkists became general, the Lords about the King's person, perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves, "Lord Bonville, only coming in a complimentary manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned by the King to stay, and also Sir Thomas Kiriell, a knight

* Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Hall; Baker; Rapin; Toulmin; Hume; Morant; Henry; Lingard.

† Stow; Lyson's Mag. Brit.

“ of Kent, he passing his royal word that their stay
 “ should be no danger to them.” Upon this promise
 they stayed ; but the Queen, hearing that the Commons
 had beheaded Baron Thorp, at Highgate,* in revenge
 thereof caused both their heads to be struck off.†

Some very powerful motive must have influenced
 the Queen to make her act thus—in contempt of the
 King’s word, and in defiance of all good faith, to
 issue her command for the execution of these noble-
 men, and thus to sully the glory of her late victory.
 One suggestion only is supplied to us as the proba-
 ble cause, and it is certain that private injuries are
 always most keenly felt and resented. It has been
 asserted that Lord Bonville, after the battle of North-
 ampton, in which his party was triumphant, had
 the custody of the King’s person, and possibly, by
 some indignity he had offered to the meek monarch,
 this nobleman had incurred the Queen’s resentment.
 Whether this opinion be correct or no, it is probable
 that Lord Bonville suffered for his attachment to the
 Yorkists, whose party he espoused in 1449, when he
 was besieged at Taunton.‡ This lord was the last
 of an ancient Devonshire family, and it is remarkable,
 that the havoc of civil war annihilated three genera-
 tions within the short space of two months. At Wake-
 field Lord Bonville had witnessed the death of his son,
 Sir William Bonville, and of his grandson, William,
 Lord Harrington,§ who were killed in battle in De-
 cember, 1460, and in the following February the aged
 grandfather lost his life.

* Thomas Thorp, one of the barons of the Exchequer, made an attempt
 to join the Queen, and for this purpose disguised himself in the habit of a
 monk, with his “ crown shorn ; ” but he was discovered, sent to the Tower,
 and afterwards beheaded by the people at Haringay Park, Highgate, on
 17th of February, 1461.

† Baker ; Hall ; Pennant ; Fabyan ; Stow.

‡ Toulmin.

§ This title he enjoyed in right of his wife, the heiress of Lord Harring-
 ton, of Harrington.

In these wars of the Roses, or, as they might be designated, of bloody retaliation, the law of life for life appears to have been strongly adhered to by the victors on either side; and this might be adduced as some excuse, if any could be made, for the hasty and cruel proceeding just related, which has even caused Queen Margaret to be designated by one writer, the "barbarous queen."

The astonishing success which had attended the arms of this Queen in the battles in which she commanded in person, has led some to believe that, had the King's forces always had her able direction, the Lancastrians might have been more fortunate.*

The grand error of Queen Margaret, like that of the celebrated Carthaginian general of old, was delay, and to this, has been attributed her ultimate want of success. After so memorable a battle as that of Bernard's Heath, had she marched on, with her victorious army, to London, and demanded admittance, there is little doubt that she would have been welcomed. In this, however, she was even less faulty than Hannibal, as it did not originate in her own neglect; on the contrary, being indebted for her late victory to the exertions of a band of northern troops, (whose services she was utterly unable to recompense, and who had voluntarily attended her in this war, conditionally, that they should ravage the country south of the Trent), these soldiers now firmly insisted on the exercise of this privilege, and no prohibition, or intreaties could induce them to march forward. Thus the interests of the Queen were sacrificed to their rapacity, and so unruly became these northern soldiers, that the most peremptory orders could not deter them from their purpose. While presuming on their agreement, the prohibitions of the King and of the Queen were equally dis-

* Baudier.

regarded by them, and they continued their plunder of St. Alban's and its Abbey, and, in defiance of all authority, ransacked and pillaged the country in the most horrible manner. Several days were passed by them in spreading devastation around, and they even extended their ravages as far as the gates of the metropolis. How little cause had the triumphant Queen to rejoice in her victory, on beholding the misconduct of her powerful adherents, and the vain efforts of the King to save his favoured Abbey from their destructive force!

In consequence of these continued depredations, the people of London, and the inhabitants of the counties around, who had been thus allowed time to recover from the consternation into which the defeat of the Earl of Warwick had thrown them, resolved to expose themselves to every peril, rather than to admit such cruel plunderers. They felt the necessity for the protection of their property, and many attached themselves to the Yorkist party.* The terror with which the northern army had inspired their minds was highly injurious to the Queen; and the confusion and contentions of the Londoners must have been considerable. One writer describes it thus: "At this tyme during
" the troubelous season, great watches were kept daily
" and nightly, and divers opinions amongst the
" citizens; for the mayor and many of the chief com-
" moners held to the Queen's party, and the common-
" alty was with York and his affinity." Thus when the Queen, finding herself distressed for provisions, owing to the licentiousness of her followers, sent to the Lord Mayor of London, requesting of him supplies; he, fearing to offend her at this moment, gave orders for several carts to be loaded with provisions; when,

* Sandford; Baker; W. of Worcester; Ridpath; Paston Letters; Hume; Henry; Lingard.

however, they were about to convey them from the city, they were stopped by the populace, near Cripplegate; and the adverse party declared to the Lord Mayor, that they would not permit any succours to be conveyed to an army, whose avowed object was to plunder the country. Upon this, the mayor prevailed upon three ladies, the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Buckingham, and Lady Scales, to go, accompanied by several prelates, to the Queen and her counsellors, then at Barnet, to intercede for him, excusing him for not using force with the citizens, in order to comply with her request, as he feared to excite their anger in such doubtful times, when it might not be easy to allay it. The ladies were successful in their embassy. They not only pacified the Queen, but prevailed in persuading her, that, if some of the lords of the council with a guard of 400 good soldiers, were sent to London to appease the tumult, by riding through the streets, some of the aldermen would then come out to meet her, and would introduce both the King and Queen quietly into the city.*

Queen Margaret prudently and wisely concealed her displeasure at the indignity offered her by the citizens, and appeared to acquiesce in the plan proposed to her. While this negotiation was carried on, the Earl of March was advancing with rapid strides towards London. His purpose was to encourage the citizens to oppose the entrance of Queen Margaret; indeed, the news only of the Earl's approach caused the Lord Mayor to lengthen his treaty with the Queen, until her affairs became desperate.†

1461.
Rapin;
Henry;
Hume.

When the Queen was informed that the Earl of March was so near at hand, and that he had united his own army with the remains of that of the Earl of

* Biondi; Baker; Habington; Stow; W. of Worcester; Hall; Sandford; Rapin; Henry; Maitland's London; Lingard.

† Ibid.

Warwick, she determined upon retiring to the north. She thus wisely provided for a safe retreat, showing prudence, which is called "the better part of valour." Margaret was well aware that her army, with their present licentious habits, were not able to encounter the enemy with any reasonable hope of success, and foreseeing that she would be compelled to fight at a great disadvantage, at the very gates of the capital, where she could not anticipate a favourable reception from the people, she resigned it to her rival, whose favour there, seemed greater than her own. The Queen then hastily withdrew from St. Alban's to Dunstable, and thence to a remote part of the kingdom.*

1461.
Baker ;
Lingard ;
Henry ;
Rapin.

Edward, Earl of March, now triumphantly entered the metropolis on the 28th February, 1461, overjoyed at his good fortune, and welcomed by the unanimous voice of the people.

His friends, perceiving how much the timidity and caution with which the Duke of York, his father, had acted, was prejudicial to his interests, advised him to consent to bolder measures, and even resolved, by a desperate effort, to establish him at once upon the throne. After several consultations, they determined to set aside the ordinary modes of proceeding, and, without waiting for the sanction of Parliament, to endeavour to obtain, first, the suffrages of the people, and then those of the nobility. They hoped, also, to justify this by the act of Parliament, which confirmed the agreement made between the King and the Duke of York. Without further delay, the Earl of Warwick, pursuant to this resolve, assembled his troops in St. John's Fields, and the people, who crowded thither, being drawn up in the form of a ring, the Earl, standing in the midst of them,

* Sandford ; Hall ; Stow ; Biondi ; Ridpath ; W. of Worcester ; Hume ; Henry ; Rapin ; Lingard.

first read to them the agreement entered into between the King and the Duke of York, and the act of Parliament confirming it. He next proceeded to assert that Henry, having notoriously violated this agreement, thereby had forfeited the crown. Then, raising his voice, the Earl demanded of the people "if they " would have Henry of Lancaster for their king?" and being answered in the negative, he further required of them to say "if, in compliance with the " agreement they had just heard, they would receive " Edward, son of the Duke of York, for their sovereign?" Upon which the people set up a loud shout in token of their consent. The news was quickly conveyed to the Earl of March, then at Baynard's Castle.*

One point being thus gained, the Yorkists next convened an assembly of all the clergy, nobility, and gentry in London and its vicinity, and at their meeting the Earl of March, having set forth his title by birth, as well as by the agreement entered into by his father, demanded "that the crown should be adjudged to " him." As no one had courage at such a moment to support the cause of the Lancastrians, a declaration was made, by the unanimous consent of all present, that "Henry VI. had forfeited the crown, to which " Edward, Earl of March, had now an indisputable " right."

The youthful Edward received the crown with modest protestations of his incompetence, and fears to undertake so great a responsibility; but when exhorted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Exeter and London, and the Earl of Warwick, he concluded with lively promises of promoting the happiness of his people.

* Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Biondi; London Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Lingard.

Edward of York was, in his nineteenth year, both handsome and accomplished, which, as well as the fame of his late success, and the commiseration felt for the unfortunate fate of his father and brother, attracted the people to him, who had been estranged from the other party by the ravages they had committed.

The following day Edward assumed all the paraphernalia of royalty: he received the homage of the nobility assembled for this purpose at Baynard's Castle. The next day he went in procession to St. Paul's, and offered there; and appointed the solemn *Te Deum* to be sung. Then he was conveyed in royal state to Westminster, and there in the great hall took the king's seat, having the sceptre of St. Edward in his hand. He then returned by water to St. Paul's, and finally established himself in the Bishop of Exeter's palace, the usual residence of Henry VI. On the day after, being the 4th of March, he was proclaimed king, under the title of Edward IV.*

1461.
W. of
Worcester;
Milles's
Catalogue;
Rapin;
Henry;
Lingard.

Thus terminated the unhappy reign of Henry of Lancaster, whose life had always been spent in a private and uniform manner, having taken no share in the administration during the thirty-eight years and a half of his sovereignty. His personal character commanded respect, even from his enemies; and it has been truly observed, that "it would be unjust to ascribe the peculiar difficulties of his situation to his misconduct; since they arose from causes over which he had no control."

No one ever became king so soon after his birth, or lived so long after his deposition; he was crowned king

* Biondi; Habington; Milles's Catalogue; Fabyan; Baker; W. of Worcester; Sandford; Stow's Survey; Leland's Coll.; Ridpath; Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

at nine months old, and lived twelve years after he was deposed. He was thirty-nine years of age when de-throned, his son being then only seven years old.*

* Lingard ; Baker ; Stow ; Rapin.

CHAPTER III.

(*Queen Margaret.*)

“ Great lords, wise men ne’er sit and wail their loss,
“ But clearly seek how to redress their harms.”—SHAKESPEARE.

(*King Henry.*)

“ My crown is in my heart, not on my head ;
“ Not deck’d with diamonds and Indian stones,
“ Nor to be seen : my crown is call’d content,—
“ A crown it is, that seldom kings enjoy.”—SHAKESPEARE.

(*King Henry.*)

“ From Scotland am I stol’n, even of pure love,
“ And thus disguis’d to greet my native land ;
“ No, Harry, Harry, ’tis no land of thine ;
“ Thy place is fill’d, thy sceptre wrung from thee ;
“ Thy balm wash’d off, wherewith thou wast anointed :
“ No bending knee will call thee Cesar now,
“ No humble suitors press to speak for right,
“ No, not a man comes for redress to thee ;
“ For how can I help them, and not myself ?”—SHAKESPEARE.

The Queen raises a large army in Yorkshire—She is opposed by King Edward and Warwick—The Yorkists defeated at Ferrybridge—Fitz-walter slain—Battle of Towton—King Edward returns to London—His coronation—The King and Queen fly with their son to Scotland—They are well received by the Scottish monarch, but obtain no succours—Queen Margaret’s exertions—Incursions into England—King Henry repulsed at Durham—A defeat in Wales—Two earls are beheaded—King Edward’s first Parliament—Somerset and others submit to Edward—Earl of Oxford beheaded—King Edward’s manœuvre—No effectual succours from France—Alwick Castle taken—Queen Margaret goes to France, and returns with some troops—Some castles taken—The Queen is driven back—A shipwreck—Warwick regains the castles—Queen Margaret retires into Scotland.

It is not necessary to be an able politician to perceive that the monarch, who is competent and willing to hold the reins of government in his own hands, has the best

chance of success and prosperity, and his people the fairest opportunity for happiness.

The prince who delegates to one or more favoured individuals the duties and cares of his high station, that he may yield himself up to idleness and luxury, richly merits the consequent evils, viz., the loss of his people's esteem, the annoyance of popular discontents, and, as it has sometimes proved, the rebellion of the whole kingdom. Henry VI. may be called a truly unfortunate monarch, since we find that he experienced all these evils, being himself a good man. He was ever willing to promote the peace and happiness of his subjects; but nature had not gifted him with talents to rule, and ill health, added to a meek disposition, caused him to give up to each contending party. He was at this time no longer in the power of the victorious Yorkists—no longer did he succumb to their direful influence, and sign their deeds, so destructive of his own interests and happiness; yet was he far from the goal of peace to which he seemed to be ever looking. Restored to his natural and true position, by the side of his beloved and courageous Queen, yet was he again cast into a humiliating condition, and into no less unhappy and perilous circumstances. Deprived of his crown, and of his former semblance of royalty, and driven away from his capital, a new campaign seemed opened to the unhappy monarch, who, we are told, “could not endure the sight of blood.” He was hastily carried northward with the stream of destructive warriors, who, not unlike their antecedents, the Goths and Vandals, had effectively removed all within their reach, that time had stamped both in art and nature as beautiful or good.

Queen Margaret had retired into Yorkshire, where she soon obtained a considerable increase to the number of her followers, owing to the licence in which she was

1461.
Stow;
Toplis;
Hume;
Lingard.

compelled to indulge her troops of plundering the country. Many also joined her standard, influenced by party animosity, and thus were the royal forces augmented to 60,000 men.

With this army the Queen might have advanced to offer her enemies battle; but the adventurous Edward hastened to oppose her. This young monarch, being well aware that although he had assumed the title of King, he held it but by a precarious tenure, set out speedily from London for the north, to arrest the progress of the Lancastrians; and as he advanced the people flocked to him from all the towns and villages throughout the kingdom.

The Earl of Warwick accompanied him, and when he reached Pomfret his army amounted to 49,000 * men. From thence a body of soldiers was despatched, commanded by Lord Fitzwalter,† who obtained possession of the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Aire, which lay between the two armies. To dislodge them from this post the Lancastrians dismissed Lord Clifford, whose attack was so successful, that the Yorkists were driven across the river with great slaughter, and Fitzwalter and several distinguished officers were killed.‡ On hearing of this defeat, the Earl of Warwick was greatly alarmed lest it might discourage his troops. He immediately informed King Edward of this event, and evinced by his emotion his fears for the results; yet he feared not for himself, but lest the disaster might damp the energies of his soldiers, when they were on the eve of a decisive battle. He gave orders

* Some authors say King Edward's army amounted to 40,000 only, while by another statement it is 40,600.

† Some historians tell us, there was no Lord Fitzwalter at the time; but in the "Fragment," by Hearne, we find him called John Ratcliff, then Lord Fitzwalter.

‡ Baker; Habington; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Hearne's Fragment; Ridpath; Allen's York; Milles's Catalogue; Hall; Toplis; Paston Letters; Antiq. of York; Hume; Lingard; Baudier; Henry; Rapin.

for his horse to be brought him, and, stabbing it in the presence of the whole army, kissed the hilt of his sword, made in the form of a cross, and swore, that if all his followers took to flight, he alone would defend the cause in which he had engaged. Upon this, King Edward issued a proclamation, giving liberty to any who desired it to retire, promising also liberal rewards to all those who should do their duty; but denouncing the severest punishment against all who should betray signs of fear in the approaching conflict.

The Yorkists, as well as their leader King Edward, had unanimously resolved "not to cease from their exertions, until they had removed the dishonour of the fight at Wakefield;" and indeed the deadly retaliation exhibited in the ensuing engagement was proof of this. The war between the two Roses had now become one of extermination, no forgiveness being hoped for from either party; they thought not of their lives, and it was proclaimed that no prisoners should be taken. To conquer, or to die, was their aim at this crisis. It was an important crisis truly. Each party had employed the utmost efforts, and tried every expedient, to be successful in the fight to which they were looking, and each man nerved himself for the awful struggle.

Lord Falconbridge was dismissed by the Yorkists to recover the post which had been lost. He passed the river Aire, or Are, at Castleford, three miles from Ferrybridge, along with Sir William Blount and Robert Horne, intending to surprise Lord Clifford; but he retired in great haste towards the main body. In his retreat, however, he fell in unawares with a party of his enemies, and his helmet being off, either from heat or pain, he was shot in the throat with an arrow, as some say without a head, and was instantly killed.

This Lord Clifford was much hated for his barbarous

murder of the innocent Earl of Rutland, a boy of only twelve years of age (the youngest son of the late Duke of York); the piteous intercessions of this stripling might have awakened compassion in the roughest heart. For this and other cruel acts the Yorkists had surnamed Lord Clifford * “the butcher.” They now felt revenged for the defeat at Ferrybridge by his death.†

The King, Queen, and the young prince their son were staying at York. They were desirous of this engagement ‡ as their only means of success. The command of the Lancastrian forces had been bestowed on the Duke of Somerset; but the Queen, although absent from the field, was not idle; she had been, previous to this battle, employing all her address to confirm the loyalty of her adherents, and to arouse their courage.

When King Henry heard of the near approach of his enemies, he did not sally forth to meet them on account of Palm Sunday being on the morrow, a solemn feast day, and one, on which he preferred rather to pray than fight, in order that the day after he might be more successful in battle. Such was his faith! but his piety was not regarded. The soldiers liked not

* This John, twelfth Lord Clifford, left two sons very young, who were living with their mother at Londesborough. Lady Clifford, to save her children from the vengeance of the Yorkists, sent Richard, the youngest, into the Netherlands; and placed Henry, the eldest, with a shepherd, who was the husband of one of her maids. This young nobleman was removed from Londesborough and conveyed into the mountains of Cumberland, where he continued to lead the life of a shepherd until he attained the age of thirty-two, having never learnt to read, when King Henry the Seventh, in his first Parliament, restored him to the estates and hereditary distinctions of his family.

† Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Drake's Hist. of York; Allen's York; Toplis; Paston Letters; Antiquities of York; Hume; Lingard; W. of Worcester; Historical View of Northumberland.

‡ John de Wethamstede, the monk of St. Alban's, composed a poem in Latin, soon after the battle of Towton, giving an account of the wars of the Roses, especially as they related to St. Alban's monastery.—*Wright's Political Songs*.

tarrying, and we are told the saintly monarch was constrained to sound the alarm for this cruel massacre of friend and foe. Doubtless he then gladly withdrew from the scene of strife to the shelter of the battlements of York.*

When the armies met face to face, the men shouted aloud—it was a portentous shout!—each party expecting to be victorious: for were they not equal, both in courage and resolution, all Englishmen, all alike proud of their power, and disdainful of their enemies?

Yet was their strength and power insufficient when one party resorted to artifice, and when the elements, intermingling in the fray, lent their assistance to end this direful conflict. Thus was the truth made manifest, that “the race is not to the swift, neither is the “battle to the strong.”

Between the villages of Towton and Saxton, about ten miles from the city of York, on a “goodly plain,” the two armies met; and on Palm Sunday, the 29th † of March, 1461, was the bloody battle fought, called by some the “Pharsalia” of England.‡ It has been considered the most sanguinary engagement ever fought in this land; and to augment the horrors, contemporary writers tell us, that the fight began “at four “of the clock at night, and continued all night till on “the morrow at afternoon.” The commands of King Edward were, that no prisoners should be taken, but that all should indiscriminately be put to the sword,§ and this was responded to by a similar dreadful proclamation from the Lancastrians.

The right wing of King Edward’s army was led on

* Pol. Vergil.

† Toplis says it was the 28th March.

‡ This battle is sometimes called “Palm-Sunday Field.”

§ Historians say that King Edward did not give this command from cruelty, but that his army should not be encumbered with prisoners.

1461.
Toplis;
Ridpath;
Allen’s
York;
Pinkerton;
Sharon
Turner;
Lingard;
Rapin.

by the Earl of Warwick ; the left by Lord Falconbridge, in the absence of the Duke of Norfolk, who was sick ; and the main body was commanded by the King, while the rear guard was entrusted to Sir John Wenlock and Sir John Denham, two valiant commanders.

At the commencement of this engagement the Yorkists obtained the advantage, owing to a heavy fall of snow, which, driving in the faces of the royal troops, almost blinded them. Lord Falconbridge, perceiving this circumstance, employed the following stratagem to turn it to his own advantage. He ordered some of his infantry to advance before the lines, and discharge a volley of arrows amidst the enemy, and then to retire. The Lancastrians were thus led to believe, that the army of the Yorkists was within their reach, and they exhausted all their arrows without doing any execution, as they fell short of the enemy. King Edward, then advancing, committed great slaughter. The dismayed Lancastrians had recourse to their swords, but their valour was quite unavailing.

The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Andrew Trollop, seeing the disadvantage, left the vanguard and urged on their men to the fight, hand to hand. Then, indeed, the battle became desperate, each man standing his ground until slain, or knocked down, and then another took his place. Needless were the orders to give no quarter ; such was the extreme of hatred manifested by the two parties, that it called for nothing short of blood, or death. They continued fighting with great desperation, for an almost incredible length of time ;* for contemporary writers assert, that the battle commenced three hours before darkness came on, and that they fought all night, and

* Some writers say they fought for four or five, others for ten hours.

until past midday. About noon, John, Duke of Norfolk, came, with a fresh band of "men of war," to the aid of King Edward, and completed the defeat of the royal forces, which were pursued to Tadcaster. Much courage was displayed by King Edward in this battle, and the conduct of Falconbridge greatly promoted the victory.

A graphical account of the conclusion of this direful conflict has been given by one of our historians, who says, "The Lancastrians gave way, and fled to York; but, seeking, in a tumultuous manner, to gain the bridge at Tadcaster, so many of them fell into the rivulet Cock,* as to quite fill it up, and the Yorkists passed over their backs in pursuit of their brethren.

"This rivulet, and the river Wharfe, into which it empties itself hereabouts, were dyed with blood; nor is this surprising, so many falling a sacrifice at this time for their fathers' transgressions, and their wounds, being made by arrows, battle-axes, or swords, would bleed plentifully. The blood of the slain lay caked with the snow which covered the ground, and afterwards dissolving with it, ran down, in a most horrible manner, the furrows and ditches of the fields, for two or three miles' distance."

No one of note was taken prisoner, except the Earl of Devonshire, and he seemed to be saved when they were weary of killing. Many of the chief nobility lost their lives. There were slain three earls, ten lords, and a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen, of the Lancastrians. The following were amongst the most distinguished of those killed; the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Andrew Trollop, Viscount Beaumont, the Lords Neville,

* We are told that this rivulet is so narrow that a man may easily leap over it, its breadth being, in most places, less than four yards, which renders this account more credible, to those who may be inclined to doubt it.

Henry Stafford, of Buckingham, Scales, Willoughby, Wells, Dacre, and Malley ; also Sir Ralph Grey, Sir Richard Fency, and Sir Harry Belingham. The total loss of the Lancastrians was estimated by a contemporary writer at 38,000 men ; but King Edward, writing in confidence to his mother, told her that the loss sustained by his enemies in this battle was 28,000 men. The total loss on both sides has been variously computed by historians at 20,000, 33,000, 35,091, 36,776, and 38,000 ; this last being, however, as we are told, the statement of those who buried the dead. The prisoners and wounded amounted to 10,000. This was, indeed, “ a sore-fought field ! ”

The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who had fled from the dreadful conflict, conveyed immediately the fatal news of their defeat to the King and Queen at York. The Lancastrian army, but a short time before so powerful, had been, contrary to all expectations, completely routed. All hope was thus extinguished ; and the King, Queen, and Prince Edward, all precipitately fled towards Scotland. They did not consider themselves safe while in England, and used their utmost efforts to escape, flying all night, lest they should be overtaken by the cavalry which King Edward had sent in pursuit of them. They first went to Newcastle, and proceeding thence on the second day of their flight, they arrived in safety on the borders of Scotland.

The royal fugitives were attended by the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, the Lord Chief Justice Fortescue, and other lords and gentlemen of rank, who all submitted to this voluntary exile.* It was not in vain that the Lan-

1461.
Ridpath ;
Sharon
Turner ;
Chalmer's
Caledonia ;
W. of Wor-
cester.

* Drake's York ; Baker ; Makenzie's Newcastle-on-Tyne ; Leland ; W. of Worcester ; Fabyan ; Sandford ; Howel ; Toplis ; Paston Letters ; Allen's

castrians had so hastily departed from York ; for King Edward repaired thither on the morning after his victory, hoping to surprise his enemies, and secure the unfortunate Henry, but in this object he was disappointed. The Lords Montague and Barnes having besought the King's grace for the city of York, which he granted, the victorious monarch, with great solemnity, entered this city, and kept the feast of Easter there, being well received by the citizens, and many processions being made to his honour. Edward's first care was the removal of his father's head, and that of the Earl of Salisbury, from the city walls, and to order their interment with their bodies. In the spirit of retaliation, the victor commanded that several of his prisoners should be executed. Amongst these were Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Kyme, Sir William Hill, and Sir Thomas Foulford, whose heads were cut off, and each of them affixed to a pole, and then fastened over the gates of York.* It may be remembered that, in the commencement of the career of the Duke of York, the Earl of Devonshire had espoused the cause of the Yorkists, and had afterwards returned to his allegiance to King Henry. He seems, at last, to have suffered for his inconstancy.†

The Earl of Northumberland, who was a powerful baron, had a palace in the city of York, situated in Walmgate.

Modern antiquarians assure us that the body of this Earl was brought home by his retainers, and buried in the Church of St. Dionysius, or St. Dennis,

York ; Hearne's Fragment ; Pol. Vergil ; Archæological Journal ; Collinson's Somerset.

* James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, was also beheaded at Newcastle.

† This was the fifth Earl of Devon. His son, Thomas Courtney, was beheaded in 1461 ; and his brother, Henry Courtney, in 1466, was also beheaded at Salisbury.

in this northern capital, and that a large blue stone in the north aisle marks his burial place.

The villagers have a tradition, which points out the spot where Lord Dacre fell. It is called Towton Dale, or Tartingdale; and a road, running between two stone quarries, is said, with great probability, to have been the scene of the battle. From the same source is the following tradition, also verified by facts :—

“It is reported that the soldiers were buried in large mounds, on the field of battle, and that the Yorkists, either in affection, or in triumph, planted some rose trees on the tombs of their fallen countrymen. These mounds, through the lapse of four centuries, have worn nearly down to the level surface of the soil; but you may yet see a kind of circles in the field, above the quarry, already mentioned, and these circles are covered with patches and clusters of rose trees. The rose is white, and now and then, on the appearance of a pink spot on the flower, the rustic, happy in his legendary lore, traces the blood of Lancaster.” *

From the chronicles of those times we learn that those who fell in the desperate conflict at Towton, were at first interred in five pits. They were afterwards buried in the churchyard at Saxton, where a mean tomb has been erected to the memory of Lord Dacre. This flat marble stone, although now much

* *Archæological Journal*; Hume.

It has been asserted by some historians that King Henry escaped, after the battle of Towton, to a place called Coronmber, in Yorkshire, which, they say, was closely besieged by Edward's soldiers under Sir Robert Ocle and Sir John Conyers. They add, that some of the Earl of Northumberland's esquires raised an army of 5 or 6000 men to fight with the besiegers, hoping that, in the meantime, Henry VI. might be fortunate enough to make his escape through a postern gate. It was rumoured, also, that Queen Margaret, her son, and the Duke of Somerset, were at this place, and not less than four thousand of the north countrymen were slain upon this occasion.

broken and defaced, still bears this imperfect inscription :—

“ Hic jacet Ranulphus Ds. de Dakre et . . .
 “ miles et occisus erat in bello principe
 “ Henrico VI. Anno Dom. M, cccc, LXI, XXIX
 “ die Martii, videlicet dominica, die
 “ palmarum. Cujus anime
 “ proprietur Deus. Amen.”

The five pits in the field near to Saxton church, could not have contained, as we are told, the hundredth part of those who were slain, and many must have been buried in other parts of that field; indeed the ploughshare oft discovers some of their remains, and this has called forth the following lines from the poet's pen :—

“ As oft as the ploughman turns the fields,
 “ Half-buried human bones the soil still yields,
 “ The dire remains of civil strife,
 “ An hundred thousand bereft of life
 “ This quarrel claims; and Tadcaster may boast
 “ That thirty thousand in her fields were lost.”

The citizens of London at this period evinced their strong attachment to their unfortunate monarch. The following passage may be quoted in proof of this, from a letter written immediately after the battle of Towton.
 “ We send no sooner unto you, because he had none
 “ certain until now, for unto this day London was as
 “ sorry as city might be.”*

From the city of York King Edward proceeded to Durham, where, having set things in order in the North, and committed the charge and governance there to the Earl of Warwick, whom he left behind him, he then returned in great triumph to London. On

* Hall; Biondi; Sandford; Baker; Howel; Stow; Leland; Fabyan; Pol. Vergil; Habington; Rapin; W. of Worcester; Milles's Catalogue; Ridpath; Allen's York; Paston Letters; Toplis; Sharon Turner; Antiquities of York; Collinson's Somersetshire; Pennant.

1461.
Baker ;
W. of Wor-
cester ;
Stow ;
Paston
Letters ;
Hearn's
Chron. ;
Henry.

the 1st of June he reached the manor of Shene, where he remained until the 26th of June while preparations were making for his coronation. The day fixed for this ceremony was Sunday the 29th of June, 1461, being St. Peter's day. On the Thursday preceding he came from Shene to the Tower of London, whither he was conducted by the Mayor and Aldermen and 400 citizens, who met him on the road, on horseback, clad in splendid scarlet liveries. While at the Tower King Edward, in the most sumptuous manner, entertained the chief of the nobility and gentry who were favourable to the House of York ; and on the morning of Saturday he made thirty-two new knights of the Bath, who being arrayed in blue gowns with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders, rode before the King the same afternoon, and thus "in goodly order" brought him to Westminster. On the following day, Sunday, King Edward was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the accustomed ceremony and honours in the Abbey of Westminster.

The new monarch's attention was next turned to Scotland, whither he dismissed ambassadors to propose a truce with that kingdom, fearing that by the succours the Scots would in all probability afford to the fugitive Queen, they might enable her to attempt the recovery of the crown, and thus make the Lancastrians more formidable than ever.*

1461.
Chalmer's
Caledonia ;
W. of Wor-
cester.

Queen Margaret and her little escort had meanwhile arrived at Berwick, where they all embarked, excepting the Duke of Somerset, and finally reached Scotland in safety.† They first proceeded in four vessels

* Sproti Chron. ; Pol. Vergil ; Fabyan ; Baker ; Stow ; Hearne's Fragment ; Paston Letters ; W. of Worcester ; Maitland's London ; Sharon Turner ; Ridpath ; Lingard ; Allen's York ; Rapin ; Henry ; Hume.

† Baker ; Hall ; Sandford ; Stow ; Rapin ; Pol. Vergil ; Toplis ; Paston Letters ; Lingard ; Pinkerton ; Ridpath ; Antiquities of York ; W. of Worcester.

to Kirkcudbright, where they were honourably received.

Finding, while at this place, that the mental infirmities of her husband rendered it necessary for him to remain there, the Queen left him with four persons, and a boy, to attend upon him, while she proceeded with her son and her court to meet the Scottish Queen at Edinburgh. It was the 30th of August, 1461, when Queen Margaret left Kirkcudbright. The chief attendants on the exiled Queen were Lord Roos, and his son, John Ormond, William Talyboys, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Fyndern, Sir Edmund Hampden, John Courtney and others, in number less than thirty. Lord Hungerford* was also amongst the faithful adherents of Margaret. He had fled after the battle of Towton, with his royal mistress into Scotland; but as he soon afterwards accompanied the Duke of Somerset to France, it is probable that he was employed by the Queen, to bear some message to the French King. This monarch† had, even while at war with England, issued orders to all his ports that the Lancastrians should be well received, and many Englishmen presuming on this favourable reception, took refuge in France at this period.‡

While at Berwick, the unfortunate King and Queen had sent to request of James III. an honourable reception, and the royal protection during their stay in his dominions; and in return they had received a most gracious reply. The Scottish monarch, then but seven years of age, expressed great concern for the defeat of the Lancastrians, and regret, that he could not receive them under better circumstances; he concluded with

* This nobleman was attainted by King Edward, and his estates were forfeited to the crown.

† This was Charles VII.

‡ Paston Letters; Fabyan; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Sharon Turner; Chalmer's Caledonia; Daniel; Collinson's Somersetshire.

assurances that, under whatever condition they might apply to him, they should receive every succour and protection which his kingdom could afford.* This young monarch also testified his respect and attention by going out in person to welcome the Lancastrian exiles ; and after showing them all kinds of honours, he finally lodged them in his own palace.

His mother, Mary of Gueldres, hastened to embrace, and sympathize in the sufferings of the unfortunate Margaret of Anjou. In her, she beheld a form beautiful and elegant as her own ; she found her endowed with a genius as lofty and aspiring, and a temper so much resembling that which she herself possessed, that it was impossible for her to witness her distress without becoming her friend. She received her with every kindness, appointed for her and King Henry an honourable maintenance, and promised to assist them in the recovery of their kingdom.

Queen Margaret, notwithstanding all this show of courtesy, could not procure much help from the court of Scotland, to enable her to recover her crown. The Council, composed of the chief of the Scottish nobility, had the guardianship of the young king. Two parties had laid claim to the Regency ; one of them headed by Mary of Gueldres, the other by the Earl of Angus ; and the states, in order not to offend either of them, had selected two Regents from each, at the same time petitioning the Queen to be satisfied with the direction of her children's education. Under this arrangement both of these parties continued to subsist, and Queen Margaret, amidst these dissatisfactions, found the kingdom in such a state of agitation, that she could procure little attention to her solicitations.† She first

* Sandford ; Baker ; Baudier ; Pol. Vergil ; Ridpath.

† Sandford ; Baker ; Pol. Vergil ; Pinkerton ; Ridpath ; Baudier ; Rapin ; Hume ; Carte ; Stow.

pleaded her claims to their assistance, through the connexion between the House of Lancaster and the royal family of Scotland; but she obtained, in reply, only the expression of their good wishes. When, however, she offered to deliver up to them the town and fortress of Berwick,* and to contract her son to the Princess Mary, the sister of their king, they lent a more willing ear to her proposals, and were finally prevailed upon to assist her.†

In order to secure the friendship and aid of the powerful George Douglas, Earl of Angus, the lands between the Trent and Humber, of the yearly value of 2000 marks sterling, were promised to him, to be erected into a dukedom. It was, however, agreed, that Angus should be at any time at liberty to make war upon England, at the Scottish king's command, and that he should not be amenable to the English Parliament, or courts of justice. This nobleman, who was tutor to the young King of Scots, was so flattered by the prospect of an English dukedom, that he readily engaged in the service of the Lancastrians, and was soon after enabled to render them a signal service.

When the Duke of Burgundy heard of the proposed marriage of Prince Edward and the daughter of the Scottish Queen, he dispatched the Lord of Gruthuse to break it off. He did this, as some affirm, on account of the enmity he bore to King René; but others tell us, with more probability, that he was equally attached to King Edward and to the King of Scotland, being uncle to Mary of Gueldres, and he did not wish to see them become irreconcilable. Through this interference the marriage was rather deferred than broken

* This town and castle were surrendered on the 25th April, 1461, and the young King of Scots visited, on the 15th June, his new acquisition.

† Stow; Carte; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Mounstrelet; Daniel; Henry; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; W. of Worcester.

off; yet the Duke of Burgundy was eventually successful.*

Queen Margaret had, by her exertions, to overcome not only the prejudices of the Scots, but the machinations of her enemies from the English court, therefore was her success the more extraordinary.

The Regents of Scotland had felt disposed to agree to the truce desired by King Edward IV., but the eloquence of the Lancastrian Queen overcame their scruples, in her favour, and the only effect which this embassy from England produced, was the prevention of any declaration in favour of the exiled family. Many individuals, nevertheless, of all ranks, espoused their cause, and it was not until the following year, that any truce was established between the kingdoms.†

1461.
Paston
Letters;
Lingard.

In return for the surrender of Berwick, an object which had been often wished, and attempted by the Scots, since the invasion of Edward, a Scottish army entered England, and advancing to Carlisle, laid siege to the city, which was held by the Yorkists.

The English, under Lord Montague, raised the siege, and the Scots were defeated, with a loss of 6000 men, amongst whom was a brother of Lord Clifford.

King Henry, meanwhile, with some faithful adherents, advanced into the county of Durham, but he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, owing to the superior number of his enemies.‡

The Lancastrian Queen still retained possession of several castles in Northumberland; and when the negotiations with the Scots were ended, and they had promised to assist her, Queen Margaret's measures

* Barante ; Pinkerton ; Ridpath ; Lingard.

† W. of Worcester ; Baker ; Stow ; Sharon Turner ; Ridpath ; Rapin ; Hume ; Henry ; Lingard.

‡ Paston Letters ; Pinkerton ; Hallam ; Rymer ; Sharon Turner ; Monstrelet ; Lingard.

were promptly and vigorously taken. It cannot be doubted that the Queen had accompanied King Henry in his expedition to Durham, although no records furnish the details of this precise period, beyond the fact, that Laurence Booth, who, through the intercessions of Queen Margaret, had been appointed to the see of Durham, had taken part, in these times of trouble, with his royal patroness, and had thereby incurred the ire of the Yorkist King.

It was supposed that the Queen had nearly reached the city of York, when King Edward penned the following letter, which he addressed to his adherents :

“Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well,
 “and thank you of the great truth, love, and kindness
 “shewed unto us at all times herebefore, and specially
 “to the days and time of our great necessity, for the
 “defence of our land and subjects ; wherein ye ap-
 “proved your said truth and devoure of such largesse*
 “as we will ever remember in the mightiest part of
 “the affection of our heart ; not holding doubted, but
 “ascertained, that we shall be assured of the perfect-
 “ness of your hearty perseverance in the same ; letting
 “you witt, that yesterday, and this day it come certainly
 “to our knowledge, that on Thursday last past it was
 “fully determined, concluded, and assented, in the
 “Council of our great enemy, the King of Scots, in
 “Edinburgh, between him and Margaret, late called
 “Queen, under the form following :

1461.

“The same Margaret, in the name of Henry, late
 “called King, our great traitor and rebel, hath granted
 “unto the said King of Scots, to his heirs and suc-
 “cessors, seven sherifwicks of our realm of England ;
 “his son Edward in marriage to the sister of the same
 “King, and to be, for the same intent, for seven years
 “under the keeping and governance of the Bishop of

* Liberality.

“Saint Andrew’s, to whom she hath granted the
“Archbishopric of Canterbury; to divers clerks of
“Scotland, divers bishoprics in this our realm, and
“the livelihood lands of the lords, gentles, and nobles
“thereof, to divers Scots and Frenchmen, having
“thereof petitions, by the said King Henry signed;
“and by the consequence and sequel, the obeisance of
“our said realm, and of our subjects thereof, as much
“as she may, under the domination and power of the
“same Scots and Frenchmen; whom she hath excited
“and provoked to show them of the greatest and
“largest cruelty and tyranny against our said subjects
“that they can, unto the execution of the end of her
“insatiable malice toward them; whereunto her joy
“and consolation is most disposed and applied.

“Over this, the said Margaret hath, inasmuch as
“she may, in the name of the said Henry, bounden
“the realm to be adjoined to the league of antient
“time made and renovelled* betwixt France and
“Scotland.

“And to the observing and performing of all the
“promises for the party† of the said Henry, Margaret
“hath made solemn oath, the said Thursday, openly
“in the said council, upon the Four Evangelists; for
“the which the said Scots there also bodily made like
“oath to the said Henry and Margaret, to take whole
“and full party with them, against us and our
“subjects, to put them in divoire, to the execution
“of the said malice; and to the same intent to enter
“our land on Friday next coming; arreadying‡ their
“great ordnance to besiege our castle of Northam,
“authorised by the said Bishop, with the clergy of
“Scotland; the lords, gentlemen, and commonalty
“thereof, intending to accompany and bring the said
“Henry and Margaret into our said realm. The

* Remodelled.

† On the part of.

‡ Making ready.

“which we purpose to resist with God’s grace, and
 “arready us thereto, and to the rebuke of the said
 “malice, and of the great presumption and customable
 “pride of the said Scots, grounded and established
 “upon unrighturse covetise,* that we trust in the
 “Lord shall be the occasion of their fall and decline,
 “if they persevere in their said purpose.”

King Edward becomes more and more vehement as he proceeds with this address, and in conclusion of this appeal, he says—

“We, therefore, pray you to pray heartily to God for
 “our good speed in our righturse cause and quarrel, and
 “true intent in the defence and tuition of our said land
 “and subjects; whereunto we will join our body,
 “blood and life; and that you will joyfully courage†
 “yourselves and our subjects of that our city, under
 “the trust of God, and the mystery of His grace and
 “might, wherein we establish our surety and progress,
 “and trust thereunto, that ye shall hear such tidings
 “of the resistance of our said enemies, as shall be in
 “perpetual memory to their rebuke and confusion,
 “and singular and assured comfort to you and all our
 “said subjects.”‡

Another letter was addressed by King Edward to the King of Scots, in which he alludes to his reception into Scotland; he says of the “traitors and rebels, Henry, late usurpant king of our said realm, Margaret his wife, and her son, and other our traitors and rebels,” not being his liegemen, and exhorting him to deliver them up unto him, without delay, if they become not his lieges and subjects, and if it so be, to certify the same.§

After this the heaviest punishments were denounced by this monarch, against all those who should be found

* Unrighteous covetousness.

† Stow; Halliwell’s Letters.

‡ Embolden.

§ Halliwell’s Letters.

favouring, or giving reception to King Henry, Queen Margaret, or any of their partizans.

1461.
Sharon
Turner.

The same ill success which attended the efforts of the Lancastrians in the north of England, pursued them in their ineffectual attempts in Wales during this year. A guard was set by Edward on the northern marches, lest any should desert and join King Henry in Scotland; for although victorious, his rival feared, that Margaret would return and excite the people to renew the war.*

1461.

King Henry, while in adverse circumstances, took refuge at one time in Muncaster Castle, in Lancashire. There is a room there still bearing the name of "King Henry the Sixth's room," where he was concealed, when pursued by his enemies in 1461, probably when he fled from Durham. The possessor of the castle was Sir John Pennington, who gave the unfortunate monarch a secret reception. The King, upon his departure, addressed to Sir John many kind and courteous acknowledgments for his loyalty and hospitality, lamenting, at the same time, that he could present him with nothing more valuable, as a testimony of his goodwill, than the cup out of which he crossed himself. This he gave into the hands of Sir John, and accompanied the present with the following benediction, "The family shall prosper as long as they preserve it unbroken."

The superstition of the times caused it to be imagined, that it would carry good fortune to the descendants of this house, whence it was called the "luck of Muncaster." It was a curiously wrought glass cup, studded with gold and white enamel spots. The blessing attached to its security occasioned the family to consider it important for their prosperity, at the time of the usurpation, that the

* Henry; Pol. Vergil.

“luck of Muncaster” be deposited in some place of security, and consequently it was buried, until, by the cessation of hostilities, this care was rendered no longer necessary.

It happened, however, unfortunately, that the person permitted to disinter this precious cup let the box fall in which it was enclosed; and this gave such alarm to the remaining members of the family, that they could not summon courage to open it, and quiet their apprehensions. It therefore remained (as tradition tells us) for more than forty years unopened; at the end of which period, one of the Penningtons, more courageous than his ancestors, unlocked this casket, and joyfully proclaimed the safety of the “luck of Muncaster.”*

King Edward had fortified the frontiers; he had built forts on those parts of the sea-coast which were most convenient for landing; particularly in the south of England. He also gained possession of all the castles and holds both in North and South Wales; and the Duke of Exeter, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and other noblemen, were defeated by King Edward's army, on the 13th of October, 1461, at Tatehill, near Carnarvon, and compelled to fly to the mountains. Many of the Lancastrians likewise went over to Edward.†

1461.

All England and Wales was at length in the possession of the young King; Harlech Castle only held out. This fortress had been kept by Richard Tunstall; and afterwards by Lord Herbert. The former held this castle previous to the Welsh chieftain, David ap Jevan, who protected the Queen, when she took refuge at Harlech, after the battle of Northampton.

* Roby's Lancashire.

† Biondi; Paston Letters; Henry; Sharon Turner; Pol. Vergil.

After his defeat in Wales, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, passed over into Ireland; where, in the following year, 1462, he endeavoured to procure some further assistance for his unfortunate half-brother, King Henry the Sixth.*

This monarch, doubtless, on his departure from Muncaster Castle, found means to return to the Scottish court, where the Queen still remained, with some of her adherents; we learn that King Henry, with his attendants, resided at Edinburgh.

1461.

It was at this time that Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of England from the year 1422, was made Lord Chancellor by his beloved sovereign. While at Edinburgh the King, Queen, and Prince Edward lodged at the Friar preacher's house, also Exeter, Somerset, and others. Not long after the Duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, and Robert Whittingham, with four or five esquires, came from Scotland into Normandy. It was rumoured that "they were like to be deemed prisoners;" indeed, the English refugees were exposed to numerous perils, for many fled to France, relying on the favourable reception of King Charles, at whose court Somerset and others had hoped to find an asylum. When these persons, however, reached Dieppe, they were immediately arrested by the officers of the new King, Louis XI., and were apprised of the death of Charles VII. Surprised and disappointed, and while in uncertainty concerning their fate, the following letter was addressed by Lord Hungerford to his royal mistress in Scotland:—

"TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND IN SCOTLAND.—
 "Madam, please it your good God, we have, since our
 "coming hither, written to your Highness thrice: the

* Paston Letters; Barry's Itinerary of Wales.

“ first we sent by Bruges, to be sent to you by the
 “ first vessel that went into Scotland; the other two
 “ letters we sent from Dieppe—the one, by the carvel
 “ in which we came, and the other, in another vessel;
 “ but, Madam, all was one thing, in substance, of
 “ putting you in knowledge of the King your uncle’s
 “ death* (whom God pardon), and how we stood
 “ arrested, and do yet. But on Tuesday next we trust
 “ and understand we shall up to the King,† your
 “ cousin german. His commissaries, at the first of our
 “ tarrying, took all our Letters and Writings, and bare
 “ them up to the King; leaving my Lord of Somerset
 “ in keeping at the castle of Arkes; and my Fellow
 “ Whityngham and me (for we had safe conduct) in
 “ the town of Dieppe; where we are yet. But on
 “ Tuesday next we understand, that it pleaseth the
 “ said King’s Highness that we shall come to his
 “ presence; and are charged to bring us up, Monsieur
 “ de Cressell, now bailiff of Canse, and Monsieur de
 “ la Mot.

“ Madam, fear you not, but be of good comfort,
 “ and beware that ye adventure not your person, ne
 “ my Lord the Prince, by the sea, till ye have other
 “ word from us; in less than your person cannot be
 “ sure there, as ye are, and that extreme necessity
 “ drive you thence. And for God’s sake, let the
 “ King’s Highness be advised the same; for, as we be
 “ informed, the Earl of March‡ is into Wales by land,
 “ and hath sent his navy thither by sea. And,
 “ Madam, think verily, we shall not sooner be de-
 “ livered, but that we will come straight to you, with-
 “ out Death take us by the way, the which we trust
 “ he will not, till we see the King and you peaceable
 “ again in your realm; the which we beseech God

* Charles VII. of France.

† Lewis XI.

‡ This was King Edward IV.

“soon to see, and to send you that your Highness
“desireth.

1461.
Paston
Letters.

“Written at Dieppe, the 30th day of August, 1461.

“Your true subjects and liege men,

“HUNGERFORD.

“WHITYNGHAM.”

The suspicious position in which these lords suddenly found themselves prevented the efforts they intended making for the interests of their royal mistress at the court of France, whither they had been dismissed to obtain assistance for the Lancastrians.

1461.

Lord Wenlock and others, who had been sent over ambassadors to the French King, on the part of Edward, were awaiting a safe conduct at Calais. The treasurer of this town, with many soldiers, some joining them also from the Marches, were engaged in besieging the castle of Hammes, near Calais, “both parties making great war.” *

The Count of Charolois, who was related to the Duke of Somerset, interested himself in his favour, having a high esteem for him, on account of his preference for the Lancastrian party; and at his petition, the King of France gave the Duke his liberty, besides making him handsome presents of gold and silver. He was also conducted to Tours, and well received there.

After this, the Duke of Somerset, desiring to return to Scotland, was informed that King Edward had placed spies there, to watch his conduct, upon which he withdrew to Bruges, where he remained in privacy a considerable time. It was not until March in the following year that he returned to Scotland, as appears from the deposition of certain Frenchmen, taken prisoners at Sharringham, in Norfolk, who,

* Daniel; Paston Letters.

being examined relative to Queen Margaret's affairs, stated that the Duke of Somerset was gone into Scotland from France, and that Lord Hungerford had, a few days before, passed before Sharringham in a carvel of Dieppe, on his way to Scotland, having however, but few followers.*

The Scottish Queen, as it appears, entertained great hatred against the Duke of Somerset, because he had discovered an intrigue between her and the King of France, and she even employed Lord Halys to lie in wait for the Duke to kill him.†

On the 4th of November, 1461, King Edward held his first Parliament, when his title to the crown was confirmed. All the acts which had been made in the reigns of his predecessors against the House of York were repealed. Henry VI., after having reigned thirty-eight years, by the unanimous consent of the people, was, in this session, declared an usurper. An act of attainder and forfeiture was passed against King Henry, his Queen, and their son, the Prince of Wales; also against Henry, Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devonshire; Lord Roos; Thomas Beaumont; Henry, Duke of Exeter; Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Wiltshire; John, Lord Clifford; the Lords Hungerford and Dacre; John Fortescue, Esq.; and many others, even, according to some authorities, to the number of one hundred and forty persons. This act, indeed, extended to almost every individual who had distinguished himself in the cause of the Lancastrians. In excuse for this severity it was alleged that the power of that House ought at once to be annihilated. Every Lancastrian, who had not perished in the struggle to support his sovereign on the field of battle, was adjudged to suffer all the

1461.
Baker;
Howel.

* Monstrelet; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Daniel; Barante.

† W. of Worcester.

penalties of treason, the loss of his honours, the forfeiture of his estates, and an ignominious death. Another motive probably led to this unexampled severity ; it was the necessity of providing funds to satisfy the expectations and reward the services of those to whose exertions King Edward was indebted for the possession of the crown.

When this first Parliament of King Edward was held, the nobility of England consisted of only one Duke, four Earls, one Viscount, and twenty-nine Barons, such numbers having been slain in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or having fled from their native country to save their lives. During this session King Edward created his eldest brother, George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and his youngest brother, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester. Lord Falconbridge he created Earl of Kent ; and Henry Bouchier, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl of Essex. Also John, Lord Neville, the brother of the Earl of Warwick, he created first Viscount Lord Montague ; * likewise Lord Wenlock he created Baron Wenlock. Anthony Widville was summoned to this Parliament as Lord Scales. The Duke of Exeter had married King Edward's sister, who preferred to remain with her brother rather than to share the misfortunes of her husband : the Duke having followed King Henry into Scotland, his estates were bestowed at this time on his Duchess.

The new Earls of Kent and Essex, with the Lords Audley and Clinton, Sir John Howard, and others, were dismissed by King Edward, with forces amounting to 10,000, to scour the seas. They landed in Brittany, assailed the town of Conquet, and the isle of

* This Lord Montague was rewarded with the earldom of Northumberland, although the late Earl had left one son.

1461-
Stow ;
Sandford ;
Milles's
Catalogue.

1461[†]
Paston
Letters.

Bec, but were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, headed by the Sire de Kimerch and Rosmadec, Bertrand de Chaffault, and others, compelled them to retreat hastily to their vessels, after which they returned to England.*

The vengeance of the Yorkists was still unsatisfied, even after so many bloody battles. Fresh victims were found after a diligent search, and every culprit was brought to a summary execution. Neither old nor young were spared. The first of these was the aged Earl of Oxford, who was both wise and valiant, and of an unimpeachable character. He was arrested by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, then Constable of England, and, without being allowed any trial, was sentenced to die, under pretence that he had corresponded with Queen Margaret. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 22nd of February, 1461; and at the same time, and under the same charge, viz., of having received letters from the Queen, were also executed on Tower Hill, Aubrey de Vere, the eldest son of the Earl of Oxford, Sir Thomas Tudenham,† Sir William Tyrrel, and Sir John Montgomery.‡ John Clopton was also arrested, but his life was spared. These and other cruelties distinguished the first year of the reign of King Edward IV., who rewarded his own adherents with the lands and effects of these victims.

The Earl of Oxford had disputed in Parliament the question concerning the precedency of the Barons temporal and spiritual, a bold attempt in those days, and judgment was given in favour of the Lords

* Sandford ; Baker ; Pol. Vergil ; Stow ; Howel ; Milles's Catalogue ; Henry ; Allen's York ; Bridge's Northamptonshire ; Collinson's Somersetshire ; W. of Worcester ; Sharon Turner ; Paston Letters ; Hallam ; Monstrelet ; Rapin ; Hume ; Lingard ; Barrow ; Roujoux, Ducs de Bretagne.

† Or Tiddingham.

‡ Or Walter Montgomery.

1461
Stow ;
Paston
Letters ;
Fabyan.

temporal, through his arguments.* This Earl had accompanied King Henry V. in his wars in France. He left one son, named John de Vere, then only nine months old.

Another of King Henry's faithful adherents, Thomas de Roos, died this year, at Newcastle, after sharing the exile of his master, who had rewarded his services with an annuity of £40 for his life, out of the Earl of Salisbury's forfeited estate. The battle of Towton had caused the confiscation of his property. His eldest son Edmund joined the Lancastrians.†

At this time King Edward was at war with France, Brittany, the Low Countries, and Scotland; yet it was only respecting the last of these that he entertained any uneasiness. He justly expected that the Queen's active mind would invent some fresh enterprise, and if supported by the Scottish chieftains' valour and numbers, she would become truly formidable. To prevent this, he adopted the advice of the Earl of Douglas, who had long been a refugee in England, and enjoyed an annual pension there, and who at this time recommended him to enter into a negotiation with the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles.‡

This nobleman had revolted from King James, and he at once concluded a treaty with the English monarch. It was agreed that the Earl of Ross should lay waste the northern parts of Scotland with fire and sword; and, by this treaty, it was stipulated that he should, with all his vassals, become the liege subjects of Edward, and that if Scotland should be vanquished through

* Baker; London Chron.; Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Hume; Paston Letters; Barrow; Henry; W. of Worcester; Fabyan; Monstrelet.

† Stow; Monast. Anglic.; Dugdale; Barrow; Leland's Collect.; Bridges's Northamptonshire.

‡ Douglas was afterwards taken prisoner by the Scots, and kept in confinement until his death, in 1488.

this alliance, the northern part should be assigned to Ross, and the remainder to Douglas.

Thus did King Edward seek to balance the influence of Henry VI. in Scotland, and by the invasion of the territories of King James to prevent his rendering him any effectual assistance. We are even told that Edward purchased the fealty of the Earl of Ross by the payment of an annual pension, and that he also, to amuse the Queen Dowager, Mary of Scotland, made her a deceitful offer of marriage. In April, 1462, the Earls of Warwick and Essex, Lord Wenlock, the Bishop of Durham, and others were sent on an embassy into Scotland, and at Dumfries met the Scottish Queen on this fruitless offer.*

1462.
Paston
Letters.

King Edward addressed a letter from Stamford on the 8th of March, 1462, to Thomas Cooke, whom he calls "his trusty and well-beloved alderman of our city of London."

1462.

In this epistle he alludes to information he has received respecting the designs of his "great adversary Harry, naming himself King of England, who through the malicious counsel and excitation of Margaret his wife, naming herself Queen of England, have conspired, accorded, concluded, and determined with our outward enemies, as well of France, and Scotland, as of other divers countries, that our said outward enemies in great number shall in all haste to them possible enter this our realm of England, to make in the same such cruel, horrible, and mortal war, depopulation, robbery, and manslaughter as heretofore hath not been used among Christian people, and with all ways and means to them possible, to destroy utterly the people, the name, the tongue, and all the blood English of this our said realm; insomuch that in the

* Pinkerton; Ridpath; Paston Letters; Barrow; Henry; Lingard; Hume; W. of Worcester; Rymer.

“said conspiracy, among other things, it is agreed and
“accorded by our said adversary Harry, moved thereto
“by the malicious and subtle suggestion and enticing
“of the said malicious woman Margaret his wife, that
“in case they shall and may perform this their mali-
“cious and cruel purpose (which God forfend!), that
“then his uncle Charles of Anjou with the Frenchmen
“shall have the nomination, rule, and governance of this
“our realm aforesaid.” King Edward continues his
letter with stating, that “for the furtherance of their
“wicked intent, the said Harry and Margaret his wife,
“had granted to Louis de Valois, naming himself King
“of France, a renunciation and release of the right and
“title that the crown of England hath to the crown
“and realm of France, and also to the duchies and
“countries of Guienne; and besides hath granted to
“the same intent to the Scots not only the town and
“castle of Berwick, now by his deliverance occupied
“by the same Scots, and also a great part of our realm
“of England. Which things diligently considered, it
“appeareth that the said Harry and Margaret his wife,
“not only to us, but to all our realm and true liege
“people, have been mortal and cruel enemies.” King
Edward continues, “We intending with all our might
“and power to resist our enemies, and in no wise to
“spare our own person, body, or goods, neither refuse
“any peril for the defence of our realm and of our true
“subjects; we desire and pray you, in the most especial
“wise, that you, immediately upon the receipt of these
“our letters assemble all the householders and in-
“habitants within your ward, as well citizens as
“foreigners,* and declare unto them the malicious
“intent of our adversary and enemies, and exhort and
“pray them with such words of benevolence as shall

* Strangers coming from the country. It is still customary in Norfolk for the country people to call the inhabitants of a distant village foreigners.

“ be thought to you behoveful, that they, for the defence
 “ and surety of themselves and of all this land, and in
 “ the eschewing of the great and horrible mischiefs
 “ and inconveniences above rehearsed, will at this
 “ time, and in this great and urgent necessity, show
 “ effectually and indeed their good will, zeal, and affec-
 “ tion unto us, and to the common weal of this land
 “ and prosperity of themselves.

“ Further, for the relief of the great charges that we
 “ must of necessity bear, they and every of them will
 “ grant unto us certain sums of money, to be given of
 “ their free will, and that they will not suffer wilfully
 “ all this realm and themselves to perish and utterly be
 “ destroyed; that trusting in the infinite goodness and
 “ righteousness of Almighty God, who hath declared for
 “ our right and title, that if our true and faithful subjects
 “ will at this time apply themselves benevolently to
 “ our desire in this behalf, that we shall so defend and
 “ preserve them from such perils and mischiefs, and all
 “ this land, that within a few days they shall have cause
 “ to think that they never herebefore better expended
 “ their money. Over this for your direction and more
 “ speedy execution of this matter, we send you certain
 “ instructions, praying you, that ye will effectually
 “ labour to the accomplishment of our desire in this
 “ behalf, and that ye fail not us, as ye desire the wel-
 “ fare and prosperity of us, yourselves, and all this
 “ land.”*

In this year, 1462, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was appointed by King Edward to fill the office of Lord Treasurer, as he had done in the reign of King Henry.† It was about this time that the displeasure of the Yorkist King was evinced against the Bishop of Durham; he seized his temporalities, which he retained for two years; when restored to him, the Bishop deserted

1462.
 Paston
 Letters.

* Halliwell's Letters.

† Paston Letters.

the Lancastrian cause, and was employed by Edward, who rewarded his services by making him Lord High Chancellor of England, in 1473. Afterwards he was translated to York.*

Queen Margaret had repeatedly applied to the Court of France for assistance, but had received no effectual succours.

1462.
Hume.

Louis XI., who had lately succeeded his father King Charles upon the throne, was at this time exerting his political genius to subdue the independent spirit of his vassals; and in this attempt had raised so great an opposition throughout his kingdom, that he found himself unable to take any advantage of the divisions of the English nation. Nor was this monarch willing to afford Queen Margaret the assistance she required in money and troops, although he evinced great regard for her, and wished well to her cause. He even favoured the Lancastrians at the court of Rome, and in all the states of Europe, and promised this Queen an asylum in his dominions should she be obliged to quit her kingdom. This, however, he advised her not to leave, but at the utmost extremity.

This King of France never concluded any treaty with King Henry, saying that it would be time enough to do so when the King of England had subdued his enemies and resumed his authority. The offers of the Yorkists were alike refused by Louis, who declared "it was not a good quarrel," and that "the enterprise of a subject who wishes to dethrone his sovereign, is neither just, reasonable, nor worthy of support." †

At length, despairing of foreign aid, Queen Margaret resolved, in spite of fatigue or danger, to go in person to France, to solicit the assistance of her friends and

* Dugdale's Monasticon.

The only act recorded of this bishop was that he built the gate of the college of Auckland, and adjoining edifices.

† Hume; Barante; Madlle. Lussan.

relatives. She left the King and Prince in Scotland, and sailed from Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, on the 16th of April (or, as some say, on the 28th of June), 1462, accompanied by the Duke of Somerset and a small retinue, in four vessels. They sailed between Wales and Ireland, and upon landing at Ecluse, in Brittany, the Queen was kindly and honourably received by the Duke of Brittany. Compassionating her condition, he afterwards sent her a present of 12,000 crowns, upon her arrival at Rouen, and even promised to furnish her with a squadron, in addition to those she might be able to collect with the help of her friends and relations.*

1462.
Pinkerton;
Chalmer's
Caledonia;
Roujoux;
Lingard;
Hume;
Henry.

The unfortunate Queen passed through Brittany, and thence proceeded to the city of Rouen. A register of this city gives the following account of the Queen's reception:—

“On Tuesday, the 13th of July, 1462, after
“canonical hours, and towards evening, the Queen
“Margaret of Anjou, wife of the King of England,
“Henry VI., arrived before the King our Lord, in
“this town of Rouen; and was received with much
“honour, by the gentlemen of the King's suite, the
“counsellors, and others of the four-and-twenty of
“the Council of this town, together with ten distinguished individuals of each quarter, who went forth
“to meet that Queen on horseback, and met her on
“the road between Grammont and Sotteville; and
“the reception was given, and the oath administered,
“in obedience to the letters and commands of the
“King, our Sire, by Germain Mancial, Knight, the
“Lieutenant-General of the bailiwick of Rouen,
“speaking on foot, by the side of his horse, to the

* Carte; Paston Letters; Roujoux; Hume; Ridpath; W. of Worcester; Daniel; Henry; Lobineau; Pinkerton; Lingard; Tillet's *Recueil des Rois*; Wright's History of Scotland.

“ said Queen ; and answer was made, and thanks
 “ returned for the said Queen Margaret, by the Arch-
 “ bishop of Narbonne, Master Antoine Crespín ; and
 “ this Queen was presented, and handed, and escorted
 “ to her dwelling, which was in the hotel of the
 “ ‘ Golden Lion,’ in face of the church of La Ronde,
 “ belonging to Regnault de Villene, barrister of
 “ Rouen.” *

The first application which Queen Margaret made was to her father, the King of Sicily ; but René, although abounding in nominal dignities, was in great distress, and could not afford any succour to his daughter. He could only unite his earnest solicitations with those of the exiled Queen at the Court of France ; and he endeavoured to prevail upon all true knights to avenge the wrongs of the English monarch.†

The unfortunate Queen had reason, at this period, to feel some regret for the loss of King Charles VII., her kind-hearted uncle, who had parted from her with such marked forebodings of misfortune, when she quitted her native country for England. How welcome would have been his generous sympathy upon her return to France in such adverse circumstances !

The death of King Charles had happened about a year before, and had been accelerated by the behaviour of his son, who he believed had entertained a design to poison him, and, yielding to the fear and grief to which this conviction gave rise, he obstinately refused all nourishment, and died at the age of sixty.

Charles VII. was one of the greatest monarchs who had reigned over France. He had a heart and

* Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers relatif à l'Histoire de France. Jean de Troye, from a Register of the city of Rouen.

† Biondi ; W. of Worcester ; Daniel ; Pinkerton ; Ridpath ; Roujoux's Ducs de Bretagne.

head equally well disposed ; he was religious, honest, and upright, and selected good and great men to rule for him ; he paid respect to and listened to their advice, which caused it to be said of him that he allowed himself to be governed. He loved his subjects, and taxed them but little. He easily forgave ; but, when the offender happened to be one who approached his person, after granting his pardon, he would never see that person again. Few reigns have been productive of so many great men, both political and warlike : Charles attached to himself these by his beneficence and goodness. After the defeat of the English nothing would have been wanting to his happiness, had not the conduct of the Dauphin disturbed his peace, and weakened his mind by grief. The regrets and sorrow of his subjects for his loss, form his best eulogy.

The great events of the reign of Charles VII. seem to contradict the opinion of the mediocrity of the genius of this prince ; who, driven from his throne at so early an age, and finding so many obstacles and difficulties, yet arrived at so much power, and recovered his regal authority. If he did not act himself, he, at least, had great discernment in the choice of those who served him.*

The Princes of the blood under the late reign had been accustomed to rule, or to contend for rule, and they were ill-disposed to Charles VII., who was jealous of their power. These Princes saw the constitution verging to an absolute monarchy, in the direction of which they would have no share : the fear of such a calamity occasioned several attempts at rebellion during this reign, and gave rise to the war commonly called “ du bien public.” †

The death of King Charles was soon followed by

* Daniel.

† Hallam's Middle Ages.

that of his consort, Mary of Anjou. She was distinguished by her virtue and prudence, but more especially by her moderation and patience under the rude trials to which her husband's infidelities subjected her. Such was her conduct that satire, so much in vogue in France, could not touch her reputation. She was exempt from the faults of the court of King Charles, and preserved the love of the people, the esteem of the courtiers, and even of Charles himself. It is related of Mary of Anjou, that, when some persons noticed the irregular conduct of that King, and even attributed it to a weakness that she did not resent his infidelities, the Queen replied: "He is my lord, and "has all power over my actions, but I have none "over his." *

René of Anjou was tenderly attached to his sister, who, indeed, by her behaviour to her husband, showed herself to be a model for wives and princesses who in her sphere might find themselves in similar circumstances. Strongly united to her husband while living, she was no less inconsolable at his death, and in her widowhood wept daily at his tomb. The poor and unfortunate regarded her as a parent, and respect for her many virtues silenced the malignant.

On her return from a pilgrimage Mary was taken ill, and died in the Abbey of Chatellier, in Poitou, on the 29th of October, 1463.†

The son and successor of King Charles was not easily influenced by the claims of relationship, or alive to the intercessions of beauty in distress; he was naturally selfish and unfeeling; notwithstanding, he received the unhappy Queen at his court at Chinon, with apparent kindness. When Queen Margaret

* Anquetil; Daniel; *Memoirs of Queens and Regents of France*.

† Moreri; Montstrelet; Monfaucon; Daniel; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Anquetil.

urged her distressed condition, and with earnest entreaties besought him to assist her dethroned husband and her helpless son, she found him deaf to her arguments, and unwilling to grant her any supplies, until she promised to deliver up to him the town and castle of Calais, should she, by his means, be restored to the throne.

Upon this assurance, Louis engaged to lend Queen Margaret 20,000 crowns, and to furnish her with a small body of troops, amounting to 500 men-at-arms, who, with their usual attendants, comprised a force of 2,000 men. These were to be under the command of Pierre de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy.

The agreement, signed at Chinon, on the 23rd of June, 1462, was to this effect :—“ Margaret, Queen of Eng-
 “ land, being empowered by the King of England,
 “ Henry VI., her husband, acknowledges the sum of
 “ twenty thousand livres, lent to her by the King
 “ Louis XI., to the restitution of which she obliges
 “ the town and citadel of Calais, promising that as
 “ soon as the king, her husband, shall recover it, he
 “ will appoint there as Captain, his brother Jasper,
 “ Count of Pembroke, or her cousin, Jean de Foix,
 “ Count of Caudale, who will engage to surrender the
 “ said town to King Louis XI., within one year, *as his*
 “ *own*, or pay to the said King Louis XI. *forty thou-*
 “ *sand pounds* (double the amount of the loan).”

1462.
Pinkerton.

De Brézé had already been distinguished as a brave general, and had enjoyed the royal favour in the preceding reign. He had been made Governor of Rouen after the defeat of Somerset, but having incurred the displeasure of the present King, had been thrown into prison. Louis now gave him his liberty, on condition that he should engage in the service of King René, and conduct this expedition into England. It is said, that the French King hoped by these means to

get rid of him, having furnished him with forces so inadequate to the enterprise.*

The crafty Louis, not thinking it to his interest to espouse the cause of the Lancastrians openly, permitted, notwithstanding, a secret treaty to be entered into between Queen Margaret and Pierre de Brézé, by which it was agreed "that, in consideration of the assistance he should bring to King Henry, her husband, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and others, adjoining, should be made over to him and his heirs for ever, to hold them independently of the crown of England." This reward, which has been considered vastly disproportionate to any service the Count might be able to render, could never be fully bestowed upon him; it was therefore judged necessary that Brézé, in taking possession of these islands, should do it by surprise, making his act appear to the world as unpremeditated. Yet even then, the Count could never fully obtain possession of them, as will appear in the sequel.

It is not difficult to perceive by this treaty, and the secret part taken in it by Louis XI., the great importance of these islands at that period, nor can it be supposed that the Norman baron would have been permitted to hold his acquisitions independently of the French crown; and some have said, that it can scarcely be doubted that he acted under the guidance of the King of France. However this may have been, it is certain that Pierre de Brézé speedily assembled 2,000 veterans, which he had the greater facility in doing, having already been engaged in the wars of France. With this body of soldiers he passed

* Daniel; Baudier; Ridpath; Pinkerton; Stow; Tillet's *Recueil des Rois*; Carte; Bodin; Collection des *Mémoires particuliers relatif à l'Histoire de France*; Barante; Leland; Monstrelet; Female Worthies; *Trésor des Chartres*.

over into England, where he rendered all the services in his power to the cause of Queen Margaret.

The Count, meanwhile, to secure the reward of his services, which indeed were great (for he did all it was possible for him to do, in the support of a sinking cause), sent a Norman gentleman named Surdeval, with a sufficient force, to take possession of Mount Orgueil Castle, the commander of which had received secret orders from the Queen to deliver it up. As it had been preconcerted, the French arrived in the night, when the garrison was unprepared for resistance, and the commander was taken in his bed, in order that to the world it might appear as a surprise, rather than a premeditated treachery.*

While at the French Court, Queen Margaret had the mortification of beholding the ambassadors of King Edward, who were negotiating a truce, well received and frequently admitted to audience.

The Lancastrian Queen was doubtless an unwelcome visitor, and it was on this account that Louis XI. gave her some troops; he promised, however, further supplies, and gave orders that all the adherents of the House of Lancaster should be well received in his dominions.

After her tedious and almost fruitless application, which occupied this Queen at least five months, she at length set sail for England, in October, † 1462, having with her only the small forces granted her from France, and which were scarcely deserving the name of an army; indeed she seemed so poorly attended, that it was remarked she had scarcely a sufficient retinue for so great a Princess.

1462.
W. of Worcester;
Paston
Letters;
Pinkerton;
Barrow.

It must not here be omitted to state that during this visit of Queen Margaret to France, and while

* Falle's Jersey; Warner's Hampshire; Plee's Jersey; Inglis's Channel Islands; Crutwell's Tour through Great Britain.

† Jean de Troye says it was November.

staying at the court of Louis XI. at Chinon, she became sponsor to the only son of the ransomed poet, the Duke of Orleans, and his wife Mary of Cleves. The child was named Louis by the King of France, who stood godfather, and became long afterwards Louis XII.*

1462.
Ridpath ;
Henry ;
Lingard ;
W. of Worcester.

King Edward had guarded the seas, with the intention of waylaying the Queen, on her return from France, but she succeeded, after a rough passage, in landing at Tynemouth. Here Queen Margaret unfurled her standard, and invited the Scottish allies, and the friends of her family, to rally around her ; and she was, at this time, once more cheered by a transitory gleam of hope in the success of her cause. She was, however, disappointed in her expectation that the people of Northumberland would declare for her ; for they had heard that King Edward's army of 20,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Warwick, was approaching, so that finding the Queen had but few auxiliaries from the continent, they remained for the most part quiet. Thus Queen Margaret only succeeded in taking the castles of Bamborough, Dunstanburg and Alnwick. This last surrendered through the want of provisions. Some write that the castle of Warkworth was also taken. The care of Alnwick Castle was entrusted to the son of Pierre de Brézé, Lord Hungerford, Robert Whittingham, and others, having a garrison of three hundred men. During the time of these sieges the King was staying at Durham.†

When the Earl of Warwick arrived in the north with his army of 20,000, and intelligence was brought of King Edward's approach with an equal number, the Lancastrians separated ; some to garrison the castles

* Biondi ; W. of Worcester : Tillet's *Recueil des Rois* ; Duclos ; Fabian ; Pinkerton ; Ridpath ; Monstrelet ; Baker ; Bodin ; Rapin ; Henry ; Carte ; Paston Letters ; Femmes Célèbres ; Philip de Comines ; Hume ; Baraute ; Daniel ; Jean de Troye ; Lingard ; Barrow.

† Some writers say the Queen advanced as far as Durham.

they had just taken,* whilst others, with the French auxiliaries, retired with the Queen on board their ships with great precipitation.

1462.
Lingard;
W. of Wor-
cester.

Within a few hours after their departure from Tyne-mouth, they encountered a severe storm. The Queen's vessel was separated from the other ships, and it was not without the utmost exertions that it was brought into the Tweed, and reached Berwick. The remainder of this little fleet had dispersed towards Bamborough, where the Frenchmen would have landed, but Lord Ogle and Sir John Manners, at the head of some troops, prevented them. Upon this they retired to the little isle of Lindisfarne, but were pursued thither by Lord Ogle and his followers, who completely defeated them, slew five hundred, and took the rest prisoners, Pierre de Brézé only excepted, who escaped in a fisherman's boat to Berwick. In this wreck Queen Margaret lost all the treasure which she had obtained from the King of France.

After these continued misfortunes the Queen gave up the care of defending her castles, now besieged by the Yorkists, to the Duke of Somerset, Pierre de Brézé, and others of her party, while she withdrew with her husband and son to Edinburgh; and there, for some time, they continued to reside. They seemed left almost alone, deprived of friends, of money, and even of hope.

The cause of the Red Rose appeared, indeed, to be desperate, but it was still supported by the courage and intrepidity of Queen Margaret.†

* At one of these castles, viz. Bamborough, when the garrison was taken by the Queen's forces, Sir William Tunstall was taken, and in danger of being beheaded. His brother, Richard Tunstall, at this time bore arms for the Queen against him.

† Sandford; Baker; Ridpath; Henry; Lingard; Female Worthies; Fabyan; Biondi; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Stow; London Chron.; Barrow; Historical View of Northumberland; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Howel; Mackenzie's Newcastle; Monstrelet; Duclos; Paston Letters; Carte.

King Edward had advanced as far as Newcastle, when, hearing of Queen Margaret's shipwreck, he returned to London. Another account is that the King was compelled to withdraw, being visited by the small-pox.

1463.
Paston
Letters.

The Earl of Warwick had been made commander of the forces of the Yorkists after the battle of Towton, and had received the title of Warden of the East and West Marches. This Earl divided his army into three bodies, and besieged at the same time the three castles of Bamborough, Dunstanburg, and Alnwick. The besieged made an obstinate resistance, and displayed much valour.*

Bamborough Castle had been entrusted to the care of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Roos, and Sir Ralph Percy, with a garrison of 300 men. Sir Richard Tunstall, and some others of less note, defended Dunstanburg Castle with 120 men. The Lords Montague, Ogle, Arundel, and many others, advanced against Bamborough with an army of 1,000 men, and besieged it; while the Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey, with 10,000, assailed the castle of Dunstanburg. Meanwhile the Earl of Kent, Lords Scales,† Powis, Cromwell, and Baron Greystock, with 10,000 men, assisted at the siege of Alnwick. This castle was held by the son of Brézé, with the Lords Hungerford and Whittingham.

The Earl of Warwick, taking up his residence at Warkworth Castle, three miles from Alnwick, daily superintended these sieges, sending provisions to the besiegers, and other supplies. The Duke of Norfolk had also been placed at Newcastle, to assist the Earl of Warwick, and send to him the ordnance.

* Ridpath; Paston Letters; Fabyan; W. of Worcester; Stow; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Historical View of Northumberland.

† This Lord Scales was Anthony Widville. The new Earl of Kent was William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge.

This undertaking of the Earl of Warwick would appear gigantic, but it will be well to consider the relative position of these castles, which doubtless afforded great facilities for the enterprise.

The little town of Alnwick, which, from its boundary position, has ever been an important possession to the monarchs of either kingdom, was situated in the midst of green vales, overlooked by a castle of most picturesque appearance, beneath which the river Aln meandered towards the sea, which terminated the view to the east and south. Northward might be seen the Farn isles and the shipping, and upon a bold rock near the shore stood Bamborough Castle; to the south that of Dunstanburg, and above all appeared conspicuous the castle of Warkworth, and Coquet island. Lastly, at the south-west, lay the forest of Haydon. The vicinity of these castles to each other probably afforded the means of speedy communication, and renders less surprising the taking and retaking of them so rapidly in these civil wars. Northumberland thus became the scene of many memorable exploits, in which much skill and courage were exhibited.

The fortress of Bamborough surrendered on Christmas eve, three days later that of Dunstanburg, after making a gallant resistance. The conditions upon which the besieged surrendered were, that the Duke of Somerset, and Sir Richard Percy, with some others, should, upon taking the oath of fealty to King Edward, be pardoned and restored to their estates and honours; and that the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Roos, and the rest of the two garrisons should be permitted to withdraw into Scotland.*

Alnwick Castle still held out. The Earl of War-

1462.
Ridpath ;
Pinkerton ;
Lingard.

1463.
Paston
Letters.

* Stow ; Howel ; Ridpath ; Lingard ; Carte ; Paston Letters ; W. of Worcester ; Pinkerton ; Sharon Turner ; Monstrelet ; Grose's Antiquities ; Hist. View of Northumberland.

wick closely besieged it, assisted by Sir Ralph Grey, and many others. This was in January, 1463. An army of the adherents of Queen Margaret hastened to its assistance. It was valiantly defended for some time by Pierre de Brézé's son and his 300 Frenchmen. This general boldly sallied forth and attacked the camp of Warwick, but was repulsed. Soon after he was joined by George Douglas, Earl of Angus, who, at the request of Queen Margaret, had bravely undertaken to bring off the garrison. For this purpose he hastily collected a body of horse, amounting to 10,000 (or as some say, 13,000) and advanced, as if with intent to charge the English army, which had invested the castle; and while the latter prepared for battle, he brought up a party of his stoutest horse to the postern gate. The garrison, headed by Pierre de Brézé, bravely sallied forth to meet them; and then, every soldier mounting behind a trooper, or, as some tell us, upon a number of spare horses brought for them, they were all successfully carried off into Scotland, in sight of the whole English army, which, being inferior in numbers, was unable to resist them. Lord Hungerford and a few knights sallied from the castle, and, cutting a passage through the enemy, joined their partisans, and accompanied them in their retreat.

The small garrison remaining, left to its own guidance, capitulated; for Angus, having accomplished his design of freeing the besieged,* abandoned the castle to the enemy, and the Earl of Warwick was well contented that, without shedding blood, he was thus enabled to get possession of the deserted castle.†

* The Earl of Angus eagerly seized this opportunity of rendering a service to the exiled Queen, who had promised him a dukedom and lands in England.

† Biondi; Stow; W. of Worcester; Fabyan; Baker; Ridpath; Buchanan; Pinkerton; Lingard; Holinshed; Historical View of Northumberland; Grose's Antiquities; Daniel.

At the time of this memorable retreat, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and others, were seen fighting on the side of King Edward.

This monarch, pleased to gain over these noblemen, who had hitherto been such firm allies of his rival, not only repealed their attainder, and restored their lands, but rewarded their services with many marks of favour. Somerset obtained an annual pension of 1,000 marks, and Percy was re-established in the possession of Bamborough and Dunstanburg. Alnwick was bestowed upon Sir John Ashley, to the great displeasure of Sir Ralph Grey, a partisan of the Yorkists, who, having once gained it for King Edward, hoped to be again put in possession of this castle.

The desertion of Somerset from the Lancastrians has been attributed to his dread of the resentment of Mary of Gueldres, the Scottish queen, he having incurred her displeasure. Many Lancastrians, despairing of the restoration of Henry the Sixth, followed the example of Somerset, and, throwing themselves on Edward's mercy,* obtained his pardon.†

About this time the inhabitants of Lancashire and Cheshire assembled, to the number of 10,000 men, in support of the Lancastrian cause, but they were soon overcome, and several of them were beheaded at Chester.‡

The affairs of Queen Margaret had become desperate. Almost all the powerful friends of King Henry had been either slain in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or banished the kingdom. When the Yorkists had

1463.
Paston
Letters;
Henry.

* King Edward, in a letter to his Chancellor, gives the account of the surrender of these castles in the North, and of the submission of Somerset and Percy. The King writes from the monastery at Durham.

† Baker; W. of Worcester; Sandford; Fabyan; Rot. Parl.; Rapin; Ridpath; Carte; Monstrelet; Sharon Turner; Henry; Lingard; Female Worthies.

‡ Paston Letters.

regained possession of the castles of Northumberland, the French auxiliaries capitulated, and gladly obtained permission to return to France.

After so many had espoused the cause of King Edward, the only remaining faithful adherents of the deposed monarch, and of his exiled family, were the Duke of Exeter and a small party, whose loyalty remained unshaken under the most adverse fortunes.*

When the struggle between the two powers seemed to be over, and the unfortunate issue compelled the Lancastrians to seek refuge in France, Brézé also departed from England, and went to Jersey. There he took upon himself supreme authority, styling himself in all public acts set forth in his name: "Pierre de Brézé, Count de Mauleverier, &c., Lord of the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and the others adjoining, Counsellor and Chamberlain of our sovereign Lord the King of France," by which proclamation he showed his own dependence on the King of France, giving the inhabitants to understand that they must henceforth consider themselves as subjects of the same monarch, which greatly enraged them. Nay, it even seemed to them more intolerable to be thus betrayed to the French, than to have been conquered by arms. It was in vain that the Count sought to soothe their discontents. His promises of kind treatment and gentle sway, if they would but acknowledge him and transfer their allegiance to France, were all unavailing.

Brézé had obtained possession of the Castle of Mount Orgueil, but the stronghold did not carry with it the island, of which it was the defence. The six parishes adjacent to Mount Orgueil Castle yielded a reluctant obedience to the rule of the Norman chiefs; while the western half of this island, influenced by Philip de Carteret, Lord of St. Oûen, maintained its allegiance

* Rapin; Henry; Monstrelet; Bodin; Daniel; Lingard.

to the King of England. Thus, during six years, Jersey continued to be a divided possession.

Philip de Carteret obtained the castle of Grosnez, and defended himself and his followers, setting the French at defiance ; and frequent encounters occurred between the two parties. Those also who had submitted to the authority of Brézé were but ill affected towards him. Such was the condition of these islanders, at the time King Edward IV. obtained quiet possession of the English throne, and a scheme was immediately formed for the expulsion of the French and Normans.

Sir Richard Harliston, Vice Admiral of England, coming with his fleet into the Channel, Philip de Carteret made known to him the hard struggle he had had to preserve to the English a portion only of this island of Jersey ; upon which, the Admiral, leaving his ships at Guernsey, hastened to the Manor of St. Oûen, in Jersey. There he held a private consultation with De Carteret, and they together planned a surprise for their enemies, which scheme they accomplished with prudence and skill.

The French were not aware that an English fleet was near, when Philip de Carteret with his followers invested the castle of Mount Orgueil in the night ; meanwhile, the fleet sailed from Guernsey to assist them ; and thus, in the morning, the Frenchmen found themselves surrounded both by sea and land. The besieged vigorously resisted for some time, but finding no hope of relief, (there being no communication with France,) and being greatly distressed, they capitulated. The castle and neighbouring country joyfully returned to the domination of England, and Jersey received a new charter, in which the services of the people were especially acknowledged.

Sir R. Harliston, for his reward, was appointed to be Governor of the island which he had been instrumental

in recovering; but how De Carteret, who had been most active in its preservation, was recompensed, is unknown. "He could not," however, "fail," as one writer says, "to procure that which always attends the "doing of brave and worthy actions, viz., the public "esteem, and the inward satisfaction of having faithfully and honourably acquitted himself to his King "and country, following therein the example of his "ancestors."

When the standard of England was raised upon Mount Orgueil Castle, it diffused such universal joy amongst the people that "it could not be expressed!" So obnoxious had the French Count become to the inhabitants of Jersey, that they had even ventured to burn him in effigy while in their island.

De Brézé had left Jersey before the siege. He was killed, not long after, at the battle of Montlebery, fighting for Louis XI. against the Burgundians.* The French writers highly extol his valour, and say that he died the death of a hero.†

* Falle's Jersey; Warner's Hampshire; Plees's Jersey; Inglis's Channel Islands.

† Bodin; Annals of Aquitaine.

CHAPTER IV.

(*Queen Margaret.*)

“ We will not from the helm to sit and weep,
“ But keep our course, though the rough winds say no,
“ From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck,
“ As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.”

SHAKESPEARE.

(*Queen Margaret.*)

“ No, sirs ! my regal claim, my rightful crown,
“ The honour'd title of your sovereign wife,
“ No bribe shall e'er incline me to lie down,
“ Nor force extort it, save but with my life.”

ELTHAM'S *Margaret of Anjou.*

Successes of the Lancastrians—Queen Margaret at Durham—The plunder of the country—Battle of Hedgeley Moor—Defeat at Hexham—The King and Queen take to flight—Three lords put to death—Queen Margaret's adventure in the forest—She escapes to Bamborough, and to France—King Edward's treatment of the Lancastrian lords—Queen Margaret and her followers in Flanders—The reception of Margaret by the Duke of Burgundy and his son—Sir John Fortescue—Education of Prince Edward—Margaret settles in Lorraine—Attempts to console her—The distress and poverty of the Lancastrians—Margaret goes with her son to reside with her father—René's tastes for the arts, chivalry, and the tournament, and for the “belles lettres”—His life in Anjou and Provence, and his correspondence—The fêtes of René in Anjou and Provence—The Order of the Crescent—Suppressed by the Pope—René joins the King of France in his wars against the English—René at Angers, Saumur, and Baugé—His taste for building—The castle and town of Baugé—René's house at Saumur—The manor-house of Reculcé and hermitage—The illness and death of Isabella of Lorraine—Her burial—The grief of René—His device—The children of René and Isabella—René joins in the war of Sforza, Duke of Milan—He is soon disgusted with the intrigues in the camp, and returns to France—His son, John, carries on the war for a time, and then withdraws also—René gives Lorraine to his son, John of Anjou—René marries Jeanne de Laval—They go to Provence—René's occupations—Alphonso makes war in Italy—The Duke of Calabria takes part with the French—René comes to Genoa—A battle with the Genoese—Death of Alphonso—Ferdinand, his son, succeeds him in Naples—The barons

cabal, and send for the Duke of Calabria—Pope Pius II. invests Ferdinand with Naples—This offends René—Battle of Sarno—The Duke of Calabria's expedition fails—Provence only remains from the adoption of Joanna I.—Louis XI. mounts the throne of France—Henry VI. has taken refuge in Wales—He is discovered, brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

1463.
Rapin ;
Barrow.

THE courage of Queen Margaret was not overcome by the numerous disasters she had encountered. She passed the winter of 1463 in Scotland, and in the spring assembled all her English adherents, and allured to her standard many of the Scots, by the promise of reward and permission to plunder. The government of the Scots had, in effect, abandoned the cause of the Lancastrians, having concluded, in the preceding December, a truce with King Edward.

1464.
Carte ;
Ridpath.

The interest which Queen Margaret had, notwithstanding, cultivated with some of the Scottish chieftains, enabled her, once again, to form a considerable army, with which she made a descent upon Northumberland, in the month of April, 1464. In this expedition the Queen was accompanied by her husband, but the young Prince was left at Berwick. He soon afterwards rejoined the army, and was present at the battle which ensued at Hexham.

Affairs began to assume a more favourable aspect. The Lancastrians speedily regained the three castles which they had so lately lost.* The care of two of these castles, Bamborough and Alnwick, had been committed to Sir John Ashley, to the great disappointment of Sir Ralph Grey, whose personal resentment for this neglect instigated him to take by surprise the castle of Bamborough, which he garrisoned with Scotch troops, and then held it for Queen Margaret, who made him Governor of the fortress. Sir Ralph Grey also contrived to expel Sir John Ashley from

* Stow ; Carte ; Ridpath ; Baker ; Henry ; Hume ; W. of Worcester.

Alnwick Castle ; then was Dunstanburg easily gained over.

The courage of the Queen seemed to be aroused, more and more, in proportion to the difficulties of her situation, and the uncertainty of her success. As she advanced to Durham, her numbers were daily increasing ; but many of those who joined her, preferred plunder to fighting, and Margaret well knew the little dependence she could place on such followers, who needed leaders to enforce discipline amongst them. At Durham she was joined by the Duke of Somerset, who, as soon as he had heard of the Queen's successes, suddenly and privately quitted North Wales, where he had been secreted, and hastened to her assistance with all his followers ; which example was followed by Sir Ralph Percy, with his adherents.*

This conduct of the Duke of Somerset was very reprehensible ; he had been nobly treated by King Edward, and in return for his generosity in restoring his lands and dignity, he only took the earliest opportunity of deserting him. Ungrateful, indeed, he must have appeared to the Yorkists ; but historians justly censure him for his submission to Edward, being himself descended from the House of Lancaster, whose interests he would have naturally espoused. Still it must be said for him, that he reproached himself for quitting his royal master, the unfortunate Henry, in the extremity of his distress.

This defection greatly alarmed King Edward. He dispatched Lord Montague, whom he had, the preceding year, appointed Warden of the Eastern Marches,†

* Sandford ; Biondi ; Stow : W. of Worcester ; Baker ; Howel ; Ridpath ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin ; Henry ; Barrow ; Lingard ; Paston Letters ; Female Worthies ; Carte ; Fabyan.

† He likewise gave him charge of his dominions in Scotland, viz., Berwick and Roxburg.

with all the forces he had ready, to oppose the Queen, while he remained to collect a large army, both by sea and land. He issued a proclamation, commanding every man, from the age of sixteen to sixty, throughout the kingdom, to be ready to march against his enemies, at a day's notice. At length, having assembled a powerful army, and having with him a splendid train of nobility, he set out from London, and arrived at York about the end of May.*

Queen Margaret, meanwhile, traversed the north of England, plundering and ravaging wherever she went.

Lord Montague had advanced as far as Durham, where he halted for several days; and when he had received a reinforcement from King Edward, proceeded in quest of the Queen's army. He met a detachment of her forces, commanded by the Lords Roos and Hungerford, at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooler, on the 20th † of April, 1464. The Lancastrians, with only 500, defended themselves against this attack with great bravery, but were, at last, defeated. The courageous Sir Ralph Percy was killed. His last words were, "I have saved the bird in my bosom," in allusion to his loyalty to King Henry. A stone pillar, having the Percy arms rudely cut upon it, marks the spot where this action took place. Roos and Hungerford escaped to the Queen.

Much elated at his success, Montague resolved to have the honour to himself of Queen Margaret's defeat, before King Edward could possibly join him. He, therefore, boldly advanced to attack her, with an army of 4,000 men. The Lancastrians, who had but 500 men, commanded by the Duke of Somerset, encamped on a plain called the Linnels,‡ on the south bank of

* Sandford ; Stow ; Ridpath ; Baker ; Henry ; Rapin ; Allen's York.

† Toplis and others say it was on the 25th of April.

‡ Or Lennolds, where the line of entrenchment is still visible.

1464.
Allen's
York :
Carte.

1464.
Toplis :
Hume ;
Lingard ;
Henry ;
Carte.

the Devil's Water,* near Hexham, where they awaited the approach of their enemies. These soldiers were emboldened by the presence of King Henry, whose only hope of restoration to the throne depended, as they well knew, on the success of this battle; therefore, when the contest began, they fought desperately.

This engagement took place on the 15th of May, 1464. The Queen's forces were taken by surprise by Lord Montague, who, marching by night, attacked them in their trenches, before they knew of his approach, and a long and bloody battle ensued. The skill and bravery of Montague enabled him, at last, to gain a complete victory. King Henry owed his safety to the fleetness of his steed.† He fled to the Castle of Harlech, in Wales, which fortress was still held by Davydd ap Jevan ap Eynion, who, in defiance of repeated acts of attainder, refused to yield to King Edward.

1464.
Stow ;
Toplis ;
Allen's
York ;
Hume ;
Henry ;
Lingard ;
Sharon
Turner ;
Rymer.

The Duke of Somerset was taken prisoner as he fled from the field of battle, and was immediately beheaded at Hexham. The Lords Roos and Hungerford, whose personal bravery and unwavering attachment to their unfortunate monarch deserved a better fate, were discovered, the following day, in a wood, and were executed, with many of their followers, at Newcastle.

1464.
Holinshed.

On account of the illustrious dignity of his family, Lord Hungerford's body was, by permission, removed to Salisbury, and there interred in the north aisle of the cathedral. The Duke of Somerset was buried in the Abbey, at Hexham. From this Duke, as it is supposed, the name of Duxfield was given to a field near the scene of action.

* This has been contracted into Dilswater by some writers.

† Biondi ; Stow ; Toplis ; Howel ; Wright's Hist. of Hexham ; Holinshed ; Ridpath ; Hutchinson's Durham ; Gent.'s Magazine ; Carte ; Rymer ; Rapin ; Hume ; Lingard ; Femmes Célèbres ; Allen's York ; Paston Letters ; Henry ;

The prisoners taken and beheaded with the Duke were the Lords Basse, Molens, Wentworth, Hussey, and Sir John Findern, knight. There were also others decapitated; viz., Edward Fyssh, knight, Bluke Jukes, John Bryce, and Thomas Hunt; and, within a short period afterwards, other executions followed, at York and other places. The victims were twenty-five in number, who, having escaped from the field of battle, had secreted themselves, but were discovered by the Yorkists. Of these were Sir Richard Tunstall and William Taylbois, Earl of Kyme, who was apprehended at Riddesdale, brought to Newcastle, and beheaded. Sir Humphrey Neville was taken in Holderness, and lost his head at York, as did also John Botler, knight, and others.

Nothing but utter extermination appeared to be the purpose of the victors. Unhappily, they found but too plausible an excuse for this in the previous example of the Lancastrians.

King Edward bestowed all the estates of his victims on his own followers.*

After the battle of Hexham, Queen Margaret had immediately separated herself from the King, her husband, in order that she might be better able to conceal herself in England, while she awaited an opportunity to embark for the continent, as she feared any longer to trust the Scots.

Once more a fugitive with her son, without resource, and apparently in worse circumstances than those in which she had ever before been placed, she was com-

Sharon Turner; Barrow; Historical View of Northumberland; Fabyan; Pol. Vergil.

* Lingard; Holinshed; Biondi; Toplis; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; W. of Worcester; Ridpath; Bridge's Northamptonshire; Rapin; Carte; Collinson's Somersetshire; Monstrelet; Barante; Paston Letters; Barrow; Allen's York; Historical View of Northumberland; Sharon Turner; Henry; Hume; Fabyan.

pelled to seek shelter and concealment in the adjacent forest. Her adventures that night were so romantic as to raise the tone of history, and while they form an interesting digression from all the honours of the battle-field, they exhibit the energetic character of Queen Margaret, whose noblest phase appeared in this her greatest peril.

The dark recesses of Hexham forest, and the rocky banks of the river Devil, had been the retreat of a ruffian horde, who, during this period of civil strife, found a plea for their abandoned life in neglected laws, and the example of their superiors. A band of these ruffians met the Queen while she was wandering, with her little son, in the darkness of the night, and unawed by her rank, and untouched by pity for her sex or situation, they seized her, stripped her of her jewels, and would have treated her with greater indignity, had not a quarrel arisen amongst the banditti about the division of their spoil. From words they proceeded to blows, which afforded the unhappy Queen, (who trembled for her life, and that of her son,) an opportunity to escape. She pursued her flight across the forest, carrying her child in her arms. She wandered on, although oppressed with fatigue and hunger, and almost overcome with terror and anxiety, when another robber crossed her path, with his sword drawn; but the great soul of Queen Margaret would never succumb under any accumulation of misfortunes. In this moment of exigence she approached the man, assuming an air of confidence, and presenting her son, she exclaimed, "Here, my friend, I entrust to your care the safety of your King's son." Impulse is often unerring; the Queen's confidence was not misplaced. The robber, who had been outlawed for adhering to the House of Lancaster, still retained a humane and generous spirit, which had not been destroyed by his licentious course

of life. The unexpected appeal to his feelings, joined to the sight of his Queen and his Prince in distress, and the beauty and dignity of the unhappy Margaret, completely softened his heart. He instantly accepted the sacred trust reposed in him; he swore to refrain from injury, and assured her of his protection and fidelity. He assisted the Queen to a secure but wretched asylum, where she remained concealed with her son. This place of refuge obtained the name of the "Queen's Cave." Its roof was supported by a pillar of rude stone work, which, according to tradition, formed part of a wall, and divided the cave longitudinally, to accommodate the Queen and her son. This cave has been described by an author who, in 1822, visited it, as follows:—"The Queen's Cave lies beneath the southern bank of the little river, exactly opposite the farm-house on the Black Hill. Its situation is extremely secluded. An idea of the Queen's accommodation in this wretched retreat may be conceived from its present extent, which does not exceed 31 feet in length, and 14 feet in breadth, while the height will scarcely allow of a person standing upright." After remaining in this melancholy seclusion in the forest for some time, the robber conducted her in safety to a village on the sea-coast. She was then received for a time by Sir Ralph Grey into Bamborough Castle, and thence sailed for the continent.*

Many indeed were the victims to party resentment, yet we are told that the Earls of Montague and Warwick were empowered to receive rebels to mercy, upon their submission. They were also permitted to reward, out of the estates of the rebels, such as might serve King Edward faithfully in reducing the northern castles, which were still in the hands of the Lancastrians.

* Ridpath; Toplis; Biondi; Barante; Rapin; Carte; Raleigh; Henry; Lingard; Hume; Barrow; Female Worthies; Wright's Hist. of Hexham.

King Edward, at this time, made an extraordinary grant to the citizens of York; by which it would appear that they had greatly favoured this monarch's cause. The patent, dated at York the 10th of June, 1464, expresses the King's concern for the sufferings and hardships the city had undergone during these wars, and for the poverty which they had occasioned, on account of which he not only relinquished his usual demands upon that city, but assigned it for the twelve succeeding years, an annual rent of £40, to be paid from the Customs of Hull.*

The fortunate Montague met the King on Trinity Sunday at York, who rewarded him with the earldom of Northumberland, and the estates and honours belonging to Sir Ralph Percy. He then dismissed him, with his brother the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Scroop and Fauconbridge, to recover the places which still remained in the possession of the Lancastrians. They quickly regained the castles of Dunstanburg and Alnwick. That of Bamborough, where Queen Margaret and many of the Lancastrian adherents had taken refuge with Sir Ralph Grey, was closely besieged. This fortress was strong enough to defend itself, and the siege continued until July, but a wall accidentally falling on the commander, placed the life of Sir Ralph Grey in great danger, and his adherents finding themselves left to their own discretion, immediately surrendered the castle, on condition of pardon from the King. They made no stipulation for the life of their commander, who only recovered from the severe contusions he had received to suffer the punishment of his desertion from Edward. He had no hopes of pardon. He was led into the presence of the incensed monarch, at Doncaster, and Lord Worcester, a ready minister of King Edward's cruel-

1464.
Stow ;
Rymer ;
Rapin ;
Lingard ;
Hutchin-
son.

* Ridpath ; Baker ; Carte ; Allen's York.

ties, pronounced his sentence, which was speedily executed. His knightly spurs were struck off, the heralds in attendance took from him his coat of arms, which they reversed, and compelled him to wear them thus to the place of execution; they also broke his sword over his head. Thus disgraced, he was conducted to the end of the town, where the executioner terminated his earthly sufferings. This knight, and Sir Humphrey Neville, were the only exceptions to the general pardon which King Edward had offered to all those who had been in arms against him.

From Bamborough the Earl of Warwick advanced to Berwick. He took the town, and laid waste the adjacent country. He then burnt the towns of Jedburg, Lochmaban, and others, taking revenge of the Scottish borderers, to whom probably the late inroad into England was mainly attributable.*

In the escape of the unfortunate Henry VI. from the battle of Hexham, he was so closely pursued, that three of his servants who accompanied him, and rode on his horses of state, were taken prisoners. They were dressed in gowns of blue velvet, and one of them carried King Henry's cap of state, called "Abacot,"† adorned with two rich crowns of gold, and ornamented with pearls, which was taken immediately to King Edward, and with which this monarch caused himself to be crowned with great solemnity at York.

Many writers affirm that King Henry, after the battle of Hexham, returned to Scotland, where he found a temporary asylum.‡ This report seemed to be pro-

1464.
Lingard.

* Biondi; Stow; W. of Worcester; Carte; Rymer; Baker; Ridpath; Hutchinson's Durham; Fabyan; Rapin; Henry; Historical View of Northumberland.

† This word "Abacot," Spelman says, signified "a royal cap, ensigned with two crowns," which, doubtless, were those of England and France.

‡ Biondi; Baker; Holinshed; Fabyan; Grafton; Lingard; Pinkerton; Allen's York; Henry; Barrow.

bable, as the interval between the two last battles had been passed by him in that country. Subsequently, however, he went southward, and arrived in a part of the country called Craven, then but little known; or, as others affirm, at the castle of Harlech.

The Scots had hitherto shown much affection for the House of Lancaster, but the issue of the late battle of Hexham had rendered their cause more irretrievable, and had cooled the ardour and friendship of these allies.

The Earl of Warwick had, in the preceding year, with consummate art shaken the attachment of Mary of Gueldres to the interests of Henry by proposing her marriage with King Edward, and the Scottish Queen met that nobleman at Dumfries on the subject; she even advanced as far as Carlisle to hasten the negotiations, and at this place she was met by some of the chief nobility of England. Mary's doubtful reputation, however, and the ruin of King Henry's affairs, occasioned this match to be broken off, and the mortified Queen fell a victim to her feelings. She died in the flower of her age, on the 16th of November, 1463.*

The English and Scotch ambassadors met at York, and concluded a truce for one year, which was afterwards prolonged to fifteen years. By this treaty, it was agreed that the Scots should abandon the cause of King Henry, and no longer afford protection to this monarch, to his Queen, his son, or to any of their followers. King Edward resigned the friendship of the Earl of Douglas in order to confirm this treaty.† Another truce was concluded by King Edward, which was also for one year; this was with Louis XI. The

* Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Lingard; Gent's Mag., 1841; Paston Letters.

† Douglas was afterwards seized by his countrymen, and thrown into prison, where he remained until his death in 1488.

Duke of Burgundy likewise renewed the truce of commerce with England and the Low Countries, and it was finally agreed that these several kings and rulers should lend no assistance to their respective enemies. This truce was to continue until the year 1467. The conclusion of this truce had been somewhat hindered by the Count of Charolois, who showed much favour to the party of Queen Margaret.*

1464.

After these reverses Queen Margaret sailed, with her son Prince Edward, from Bamborough to Sluys in Flanders. The Queen was accompanied in her flight from England by Edmund Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, their elder brother having been beheaded at Hexham; also by the Duke of Exeter, Pierre de Brézé, Sir John Fortescue, Edmond Munkford, E. Hampden, Henry Roos, Thomas Ormonde, Robert Whittingham, knights; John Morton, Robert Mackeret, doctors, besides many other knights and gentlemen, and also some ladies; the number amounting to about two hundred. They all arrived at Sluys in safety.† From thence Queen Margaret proceeded with her son to Bruges, where she was honourably received.‡ Leaving Prince Edward at this place, she passed on to Lisle, where she was hospitably entertained by the Count of Charolois, who, being descended by his mother's side from the House of Lancaster, showed her real kindness.

From Lisle the Queen went to Bethune, to hold a conference with Philip "the Good," Duke of Burgundy, the father of the Count of Charolois, and the most magnificent prince of his age. Being at this

* Pinkerton: W. of Worcester: Lingard: Ridpath; Paston Letters: Henry: Carte: Barrow.

† Bland: W. of Worcester: Baker: Ridpath: Pinkerton: Lingard; Barante: Henry: Hume: Femmes Célèbres.

‡ Menestrier: Baudier.

time at St. Pol, the Duke dismissed a party of horse to escort Queen Margaret thither, and to protect her against the excursions of the garrison of Calais. They safely lodged her near the Carmelites.

The Duke received her with much outward distinction and respect, generously overlooking the animosities which had existed between their families, in order to afford her all the succours she required in her present distress. When introduced to the Duke, Queen Margaret, in the most pathetic manner, related to him her misfortunes and the loss of her kingdom, and besought him to assist her in the recovery of her possessions; but, while the Duke sought to console the unhappy Queen, he refused to listen to her solicitations in favour of her husband. He gave her, however, a supply of money for her present expenses; it is said that he bestowed upon her 2,000 crowns of gold; and gave, at the same time, 1,000 to Pierre de Brézé (called the Lord of Varennes), who had shared her misfortunes, and 100 also to each of the ladies who had attended her. The Duke also furnished her with an escort to the duchy of Bar, in Lorraine, which belonged, at this time, to her brother, the Duke of Calabria. Queen Margaret regretted much that she had not earlier thrown herself upon the generosity of this noble Duke, thinking that her affairs might have been more prosperous.*

At length she settled, with her son and her principal followers, in the Castle St. Michel, in Barrois, which, with the estate annexed to it, was bestowed upon her by her father, René of Anjou. From this period Queen Margaret remained for several years secluded from the world; yet she still watched with anxiety the course of events, sustained with the hope of one

* W. of Worcester: Rot. Parl.; Monstrelet; Baudier; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Female Worthies.

day being able to place her husband or her son on the English throne.*

In her retirement she did not fail to exert all her influence with the friends of her family, to persuade them to assist her in some future effort to wrest the crown from Edward; and her active mind was, doubtless, forming continually new schemes to effect this object. She was also employed in the education of her son, a most promising boy, who had for his preceptor Sir John Fortescue, the greatest lawyer of that period, and who has been described as "the ornament of his honourable profession," and "as one of the most learned and best men of the age in which he flourished." Sir John had been made Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1442, and presided in that court many years with wisdom and integrity. His attachment to his sovereign had caused him to be attainted of high treason by King Edward, in 1461; and, after sharing the misfortunes of his master when he fled into Scotland, he was there made Lord Chancellor, an office, nevertheless, which he was unable to fulfil. He followed Queen Margaret to her retreat in France; and there sought to soothe and cheer her solitude, by assisting her with his counsels, and superintending the education of her son. It was for the instruction of the young Prince of Wales that he composed, during his exile, his excellent little treatise "*De laudibus legum Angliæ*."† The following passage shows the author's motives for undertaking this work, and his zeal as preceptor, and exhibits a good specimen of this excellent work, which blends religion and morality so admirably with the laws, in explaining them to the young prince, of whose habits it gives us some idea.

* W. of Worcester; Pinkerton; Henry; Lingard; Hume.

† Pinkerton; Morant; Lingard; Henry.

“The Prince, shortly after growing to man’s estate,
“applied himself wholly to feats of arms, much
“delighting to ride upon wild and unbroken horses,
“not sparing with spurs, to break their fierceness.
“He practised also sometimes with the pike, and
“sometimes with the sword, and other warlike
“weapons, after the manner and guise of warriors,
“according to the use of martial discipline, to assail
“and strike his companions, that attended upon his
“person; which thing, when a certain ancient knight,
“being Chancellor to the aforesaid King of England,
“saw, who also in the miserable time did there
“remain in exile, he spake thus to the Prince :

“Your singular towardness, most gracious Prince,
“maketh me right glad, when I behold how earnestly
“you do embrace martial feats; for, it is convenient
“for your grace to be thus delighted, not only, for
“that you are a soldier, but much rather, for that you
“shall be a king. For it is the office and duty of
“a king, to fight the battles of his people, and also
“rightly to judge them, as in the eighth chapter of
“the First Book of Kings, you are plainly taught.
“Wherefore I would wish your grace, to be, with as
“earnest zeal, given to the study of the laws, as you
“are to the knowledge of arms, because, that like as
“wars by force of chivalry are ended, even so judg-
“ments by the laws are determined. Which thing
“Justinian the Emperor, well, and wisely, and ad-
“visedly pondering, saith thus : It behoveth the
“imperial majesty, not only to be guarded with arms,
“but also to be armed with laws, to the end that he
“may be able rightly to execute, the government of
“both times, as well of war as of peace. Howbeit,
“for your most earnest endeavour to the study of
“the law, the exhortation of the chiefest law maker,
“Moses, sometime captain of the synagogue, ought

“to be of much more force with you, than the words
 “of Justinian; whereas, in the seventh chapter of
 “Deuteronomy, he doth, by the authority of God,
 “strictly charge the kings of Israel to be readers
 “of the law, all the days of their life; saying
 “thus: When the king shall sit upon the princely
 “seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out this
 “law in a book, taking the copy there of the priests,
 “the Levites; and he shall have it with him, and
 “he shall read it all the days of his life, that he
 “may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep
 “His commandments and ordinances, written in this
 “law. And Helymandus, expounding the same, saith
 “thus: ‘A prince, therefore, must not be ignorant of
 “the law, neither is it tolerable that he, under the
 “pretence of warfare, should be unskilful in the law.’
 “And a little after, he is commanded, saith he, ‘to
 “receive the copy of the law of the priests, the
 “Levites, that is to say, of Catholic and learned men.’
 “Thus much he: for the book of Deuteronomy is
 “the book of the laws, wherewith the kings of Israel
 “were bound to rule and govern their subjects. This
 “book doth Moses command kings to read, that
 “they may learn to fear God and keep his com-
 “mandments, which are written in the law.”*

It may be conjectured that it was at this time of
 Queen Margaret's retirement from the world, when,
 doubtless, she occasionally indulged in a melancholy
 retrospect of the past, or dwelt with painful interest
 on the condition of her meek and patient consort,
 whose separation from her, and incarceration, must
 have been a source of grief to her, that the little
 volume called "*Le petit Bocace*" was written for her
 diversion.

This rare manuscript was composed by George

* Fortescue : *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.

Chastelain, historiographer to the Dukes of Burgundy, esteemed one of the best writers of his times ; and was written at Tours.* It is in the form of dialogues between Jehan Bocace and the Queen, introducing subjects of moral and religious contemplation, calculated to dispose the mind to resignation under the reverses of fortune.

“ C'est cy le temple de Bocace
 “ Miroir pour tous tirans de la terre,
 “ Auquel la reyne d'Angleterre
 “ C'est venu plaindre a triste face.” †

Queen Margaret obtained much consideration amongst her own countrymen and kindred ; but when she received the news of the capture of King Henry, she departed secretly to the court of King René, her father, with whom she remained until, through another revolution in her favour, she was enabled once more to reappear in England. This was her last attempt.‡

The scanty documents relating to the exile of this Queen, and of her residence with the good King René, afford but little information respecting her tastes and occupations during this season of seclusion and melancholy. Neither do we learn how far she was able to participate in the recreations of her respected parent, or solace herself by the society of her friends and kindred. By the latter she was always esteemed and had much attention shown her. We may instance a little note to be found in the archives of Milan, dated Chartres, May 5th, 1467.

“ Giovanni Pietro Panicherolla to the Duchess and
 “ Duke of Milan.

“ The Marquis de Pont, son of the Duke John, has.

* MS. of the fifteenth century, dated 1498.

† MS. in the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothsay.

‡ Sandford.

“quitted Nanci, in Lorraine, and is gone to visit his aunt, late Queen of England, who has also withdrawn into Lorraine, with a son of hers, aged thirteen, having no other place of refuge. She is subsequently to come and reside here at the court.”*

It was while in attendance on the Queen and Prince at St. Michel-in-Barrois, in Lorraine, that Sir John Fortescue wrote to the Earl of Ormond, then in Portugal. In his letter he does not speak of himself as Chancellor, but merely as one of the knights who were at that time with the Queen. Their means of living must have been much straitened, for Sir John speaks of their great poverty, and adds, “but yet the Queen susteyneth us in mete and drinke, so as we be not in extreme necessity.” Another letter was also sent from Prince Edward to the same nobleman, urging him to intercede with the King of Portugal, to assist King Henry in the recovery of his kingdom, and subduing of his enemies.†

The tastes of Prince Edward, so different from those of his father, and his love of martial exploits, seem almost an inheritance from his maternal grandfather René, at whose court he probably found encouragement for his favourite amusements. Chivalry, although on the decline in Europe, was still maintained in its original character in the province of Anjou, by King René, of whom Bourdigné says, “his gentle and chivalrous heart delighted in knightly deeds”—that the young prince must have been stimulated by the picturesque observances of chivalry; and his tutor tells us that he grew up “in a warlike spirit, and was a gallant horseman, and expert in the use of the lance.”

Queen Margaret, however, had resolved that her son should not only become a martial character, but receive

* Sforza's Archives of Milan.

† Archaeological Journal; Fosse's Lives of the Judges.

an education of a superior kind, and with this intent had placed him in his early childhood under the care of Sir John Fortescue, to whom no little honour was due for his diligent instructions in the free institutions of his native land. Much praise is also due to Queen Margaret for her choice of such a preceptor for her son; for although brought up in arbitrary doctrines, her enlightened mind had led her to desire that her son should be filled with noble and liberal sentiments. At this period of her seclusion from public life, the care of her son's education must have afforded no small satisfaction to the mind of the dejected Queen. When we consider how the fortitude of Margaret sustained in her breast the constant hope and desire for the restoration of her husband, or the future establishment of her son on the throne, her perseverance in renewing every possible friendly aid to this end, her grief at the King's imprisonment, and the extreme distress and ruin of her true and constant adherents, we should find it difficult to pronounce, as some writers have done, this period of our heroine's existence, which she passed with her father and her son at Angers, as the happiest of Queen Margaret's life.

The most considerable noblemen attached to the interests of the Lancastrians, amongst whom were the Duke of Somerset, his brother, the Duke of Exeter, and others, who had all escaped with Queen Margaret to the Low Countries, suffered great distress. Fearing that their rank being discovered, would cause them to be delivered up to King Edward, these noblemen endured, during their exile, all the extremities of want and poverty.

It is related that the Duke of Exeter, whose wife was sister to King Edward, was seen following the train of the Duke of Burgundy, bare-footed and bare-legged, and begging his bread from door to door. In

the most severe weather these unfortunate noblemen ran about as errand boys to the lowest classes of the people ; but, when the Duke of Burgundy learnt their rank, he gave to each of them, a small pension, barely sufficient for their support.*

Let us now turn for a brief space to the interesting, yet unfortunate events, of the life of this heroine's father, René of Anjou.

Contented at beholding his beloved daughter raised to one of the first thrones in Europe, and at the same time, feeling disgusted with war, upon beholding the ill success of all his efforts to secure the crown of Naples, René appeared from this period in a new character, and his life assumed a different aspect. We have hitherto beheld him only as a warrior, the very plaything of fortune, by turns a conqueror, a prisoner, a traveller, or a fugitive, as if in cruel expiation for a rapid exaltation ; and only consoling himself amidst his misfortunes, by dispensing benefits around him, and by the consciousness that his glory was untarnished, and must ennoble him, even in reverses.

René at this season disposed himself for tranquillity ; and we have now the more agreeable office of recording him from the year 1446 (for we are reverting somewhat to the past), when, as the philosopher, he was devoting himself to letters, to poetry, or to painting, reviving for his amusement the ancient chivalry, and leading the tournament.† For the first time in his life this prince found himself at peace ; and being in quiet possession of Lorraine, Provence, and Anjou, he tasted of that repose which he had so dearly bought, and was content in the bosom of his family, and in conferring happiness on his subjects. In yielding to

* Philip de Comines ; Sandford ; Rapin ; Milles's Catalogue ; Baker ; Baudier ; S. Turner ; Henry ; Barrow ; Historical View of Northumberland.

† Moreri ; Godard Faultrier ; Villeneuve Bargemont ; Bodin.

his taste for chivalric fêtes, this Duke of Anjou enlivened his court, both in Anjou and in Provence; and passing his time alternately in these beautiful provinces, he also relieved himself, after the cares of government, in cultivating the arts and belles-lettres in his hours of retirement, having previously so often experienced their salutary influence while under the pressure of misfortune and in imprisonment.*

Banishing all ambitious thoughts, except that of making himself beloved, René determined that henceforth his abode should be in the fertile and charming country of Anjou, the place of his birth, and the cradle of his ancestors. In this favoured province, where nature lavishes her treasures, he enjoyed with transport the liberty of frequenting those spots where he had passed his childhood, and this good monarch created for himself a course of life analogous to his tastes. He called around him the *élite* amongst the Angevins, and invited to his court, gentlemen, literati, and artists, consecrating to pleasure all the hours which were not devoted by him to the arts or literature. These occupations and amusements of René obtain a peculiar interest with us, by their showing in a remarkable way the manners and customs of the age in which he lived.

René was engaged about this time of his life in a poetical correspondence with the gifted Charles, Duke of Orleans, and also with the Dukes of Bourbon, Burgundy, and Nevers. He painted landscapes, portraits or miniatures, and even was employed in drawing out plans for the gardens of his palace; still more than in all these, did he enjoy himself in the marvellous fêtes which he instituted, in which, without incurring danger, much honour might be acquired.†

In imitation of the Greeks and Romans, the Go-

* Bodin ; Moreri.

† Bodin.

vernors of the Middle Ages had introduced military games, the object of which, was the same as that of the ancients. These fêtes, or "Tournays," as they were called, afforded for several centuries infinite delight to the people of France; and, indeed, these combats appeared well calculated to sustain the spirit of the young cavaliers, and by exciting emulation and the love of glory, to prove the source of virtuous and great actions. The tastes and example of René contributed much to this passion for fêtes amongst the Angevins. He composed a treatise on the form and manner of the Tournays, which he embellished with several sketches by his own hand, representing the characters in the costume and attitudes which they should adopt in their different parts.* To add example to precept, René announced the first of his military fêtes in 1446, called the "Emprise de la gueule du dragon," or the "pas de joûte."† To increase the *éclat* of their "Emprise," four gentlemen of Anjou chose for its announcement the time when Potou de Saintrailles, Dunois, Louis de Beauveau, and Jean de Cossa, followed by a multitude of other lords of the courts of Provence and Sicily, were preparing to visit their beloved monarch, with whom they had gained laurels in their youth. Ever zealous for renown, these brave chieftains seized with ardour the opportunity of again distinguishing themselves with him while partaking his pleasures. Thus were they seen to rush into the presence of René and Isabella at the moment when they were departing from their gothic palace at Angers, surrounded by a brilliant cortége of ladies of honour, officers, and pages, and were proceeding to the spot appointed by the champions for their amusement.

* This manuscript was in the Royal Library.

† The entertaining of the "dragon's mouth, or the Pace of the Tilt," maintained by King René in favour of the ladies.

It was on the banks of the beautiful Loire, on a vast plain, enamelled by the varied flowers of spring, beneath some majestic trees, in short, amidst some of the most enchanting scenery of this province, that there assembled, on one of those smiling mornings, whose serenity is unclouded by a single speck, all the most illustrious which France at this time possessed and gloried in. Here were to be seen warriors grown hoary in the fight, and beside them, ladies resplendent in youth and beauty, adorned with flowers, golden diadems, and jewels.

These, mounted on white palfreys, covered with cloth of velvet, embroidered with gold, animated by their graceful movements and melodious voices, the scenery around. Near them, mounted on fiery coursers, was an assembly of young knights, equerries, or suitors, entertaining one another with the great exploits in the field of departed heroes, and seeking to attract the notice of the fair ones, by letting them read in their eyes, so full of fire, their desire of signalling themselves, or even more tender sentiments. It may well be imagined that there was a succession of enchantments on the banks of the Mayenne at Chinon, for, says the historian, "these illustrious knights were going "to strive, for the acquisition of honour, to exercise "themselves more and more in the noble deeds of arms, "and testify their courage and valour to those they "loved the best."

This last avowal of a gallantry quite chivalric, was by no means foreign at this moment to the prince who was looked upon as the hero of the tilt announced. The anonymous manuscript* assures us that René presented himself there, with the intention of making known his devotion to the ladies in general: yet truth constrains us to mention here one of the first weak-

* Notes written by René.

nesses of the heart, remarkable in the life of this monarch. *Malgré* his boundless affection for his Queen Isabella, and that conjugal fidelity which ever remained unshaken, René could not encounter, without experiencing for her the strongest interest, the noble daughter of Guy de Laval. This princess was scarcely thirteen years of age, but her beauty, graces, and mental qualifications were so much developed, that René was captivated by them, and sought, as one writer tells us, "to make his expertness shine, for the esteem with which it inspired the young and beautiful Jeanne de Laval." It must, however, be added, that this attachment had less the character of ardent passion than of those romantic affections "on which imagination feasts, and which each knight felt himself obliged to feign, if he did not actually feel it, by addressing his vows to an object, which was often ideal, under the name of 'lady of his thoughts.'

"Thus Isabella of Lorraine had nothing to cause her alarm, and indeed there was no indication that she noticed it, for she always treated the young Jeanne de Laval with marked esteem and distinction. It may also be said, *en passant*, that if René, during the rest of his life, was accused of more than one fault of this kind, he surrounded them with so much secrecy that he even veiled the real names of the objects of his tenderness from observation." In an age when his contemporary princes openly boasted of their triumphs over the fair sex, this conduct of René was the more remarkable.

"It was not by the brilliancy of his armour, or by the magnificence of his apparel, that René sought to distinguish himself in the eyes of Jeanne de Laval. Still afflicted by the loss of his mother and his son, and grieved at the departure of his daughter, Margaret of Anjou, he appeared in the lists, dressed in armour

“entirely black, his shield being sable, studded with silver spangles. His lance was black, and his horse was caparisoned in black, reaching down to the ground.

Of the other circumstances of the “*Emprise de la gueule du dragon*,” we learn from the same author merely “that the King of Sicily went and touched the shields of the champions, and tilted so skilfully and so fortunately, that the honour and prize of the combat were publicly decreed to him.”*

On the superb plain near Saumur,† chosen for the celebration of this tournament, René had caused to be constructed a spacious palace of wood, decorated within and without with elegance and splendour. It was furnished with rich tapestry, and a prodigious number of silk and velvet cushions for the accommodation of the ladies, for whom especially this entertainment was given. In this royal pavilion, called by René, in imitation of those named by ancient novelists in chivalry, “*le château de la joyeuse garde*,” several weeks passed in an uninterrupted succession of pleasures of all kinds. The Duke of Anjou held there a kind of plenary court, inventing daily new fêtes, cavalcades, banquets, and dances, to amuse his illustrious guests, while they awaited the complete assemblage of the brave champions called by honour to carry off the prize decreed by the Queen of Sicily, and which was announced three times in a loud voice by the *poursuivant d’armes*.

The following minute details have been given by one of the historians of Anjou of this interesting *pas d’armes*.

“On the day of the tournament King René set out from his castle for the place appointed for the tilts,

* Villeneuve Bargemont ; Bodin.

† It was between Razilly and Chinon. This fête was sometimes called “*Emprise de la joyeuse garde*.”

“and in the following order was the procession : Two
“Turks dressed in damask of carnation and white, each
“leading a lion, tied with a huge chain of silver, marched
“first. Then followed drummers, fifers, and trumpeters of the King on horseback, all dressed in the
“livery of Anjou, carnation and white. Next came
“two kings-at-arms, carrying their books or charters
“of honour and nobility, in order to note down in them
“the high deeds and valorous combats which were
“going to be performed.” After these came four judges
of the camp, mounted on superb horses, whose coverings reached to the very ground, and were ornamented with richly-worked coats of arms. Two of these judges had been chosen from amongst the oldest and wisest knights, and the other two from the equerries, all skilful in combat. “The King’s dwarf next appeared,
“mounted on a beautiful and well-caparisoned horse,
“bearing the shield and device chosen by René for this
“fête, the bottom of it was of gules, strewed with
“pansies ‘au naturel.’ Similar to the coats of arms
“were the banners, the head-gear, the coverings and
“caparisons of the horses of the knights, the equerries
“of the King, and all the champions. A very beautiful young lady, dressed magnificently, and mounted
“on a superb white palfrey then followed ; she held
“in her hand a very rich scarf tied to the bridle of
“the horse on which King René was mounted. This
“lady’s office was to conduct all the champions,
“when the time came for them to tilt against the
“assailants. The King was followed by Ferri, of
“Lorraine, the Lord of Beauvau, and his brother,
“Guy de Laval, Lenoncourt, Cossi, Plessis, and many
“other champions of renown.

“Arrived at the spot where the lists were established, in the order mentioned, they found a large
“tent erected, richly decorated, also scaffoldings for

“the judges, for the kings-at-arms, as well as for the ladies, adorned with tapestries and cushions with gold lace, which were placed round the lists, but separated the one from the other by spaces so as to allow the people to enjoy the brilliant spectacle. There was also a stage raised several steps, and a marble column placed on it, to which was appended the shield of the device. Those of the assailants who wished to tilt against the champions were obliged to come and touch the shield with the end of their lance, and at the foot of this column were the two lions chained, of which we have spoken.

“According to express agreement on the part of both champions and assailants, each of the vanquished was obliged to present a diamond, a ruby, or courser, or some other gift previously agreed upon.

“These prizes were intended for their mistresses, and we learn that, at this fête, there were no less than fifty-four diamonds and thirty-six rubies given to the ladies by those who were vanquished; besides these, there were two principal prizes given at the expense of King René, which were, by the command of the judges of the camp, presented to the conquerors by Jeanne de Laval. The first prize was a noble courser, and was gained by Florigny; the second was a clasp or box of gold, enriched with diamonds, and was decreed to Ferri of Lorraine.”

Of those who assisted at this tournament were Montmorency, Brézé, Daillon du Ludé d'Harcourt, Tancarville, de la Jaille, Jean de la Haye, Guillaume de la Jumalière, Lord of Martigné, Briant, Florigny, and Ferri de Vaudemont. Above all, the Duke of Alençon was remarkable, wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece, and still more distinguished by his fine form and noble features, which gained for him the surname of “la beau prince.”

The chevaliers were also guided by Pontou de Saintrailles, the brave Gascon, who had already figured in the *pas d'armes* of Razilly. There were also present Charles of Bourbon, father-in-law to the Duke of Calabria, the Counts d'Evreux, d'Eu, and Charles d'Artois. Lastly should be mentioned the Count of Nevers, who, having vainly aspired to the hand of Margaret of Anjou, found himself, perhaps unconsciously, the rival of René, in addressing at this time his secret vows to the beautiful heroine of the fête, Jeanne de Laval.

“These tilts terminated fortunately without accident, which seldom happened. Afterwards the King, Queen, and all their brilliant assembly, returned to the castle of Saumur, where René continued for several, some say fifteen, days, his magnificent balls and entertainments.*

“The helmet and cuirass were now laid aside by the brave knights, who, having signalised themselves before in the combat by their courage and agility, and by the rudeness and simplicity of their attire, on this occasion vied with one another in the richness and elegance of their apparel, and their gallantry towards the ladies. The gratification of these heroes in the series of amusements which King René had prepared for them was great, yet we may justly add, that it was equalled, even surpassed, by the satisfaction which the ‘merry monarch,’ as René has been styled, experienced himself on this occasion, in the presence of his family and court, and placed between his much-beloved Queen Isabella, and the fascinating Jeanne de Laval.”

The joust, thus renewed upon the return of this excellent prince to his native province, became subse-

* A picture representing this Tournament was painted by King René, who offered it to his brother-in-law, King Charles VII.

quently, in a degree, the expression of joy at his appearance amongst the Angevin nobility, who had retained a lively inclination for these ancient amusements of their own sovereigns.

It is easy to imagine how this monarch, brought up in hereditary ideas so worthy of him, would indulge in the chivalric spirit, and delight in and occupy himself in these noble games, which were not in his age regarded as vain amusements.

He did not, however, forget his duties as a sovereign. Always assiduous to render his people happy, he sought every means of ameliorating their condition, and he was well informed of all the events which concerned the interest of his subjects.*

Soon after his arrival at Angers, a frightful drought desolated nearly all Provence. The harvests had been destroyed, the springs dried up, and the miserable inhabitants of Aix had to send to a great distance to have their corn ground, and were obliged to fetch water several leagues distant. René, touched with this calamity, immediately ordered his grand seneschal to exempt each city or village afflicted by this scourge, from taxation during a year. This rare example of humanity was more than once displayed, on similar occasions, by this prince, whose disinterestedness knew no bounds; and while we read of the regal pomp and luxury which was exhibited at the celebration of his attractive tournaments, we are reminded that the same monarch who commanded these expensive tilts, assisted in drying the tears of the distressed and indigent.†

In December, 1447, René was engaged in a holy tour to Provence, to collect the bones of saints. In July following, he assisted at the council held by the Archbishop of Tours. The termination of the year

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

1448 René passed in tranquillity at Angers. He then traversed Provence, resting at Aix, Marseilles, at Arles, and lastly at the château of Tarascon, where he announced another fête, three years after his former one in 1449.*

This tournament at Tarascon has been described by the Seneschal of Anjou, Louis de Beauvau. At this epoch but few of the French nobility had acquired the knowledge of reading and writing; but, at the court of Anjou, on the contrary, most of the great people, imitating the example of their king, were men of letters, and several of them have left honourable traces of it.

The manuscript of Louis de Beauvau, relating to the tournament of Tarascon, is written in verse, and addressed to Louis of Luxembourg. A miniature etching placed at the head of his book represents the first scene of the fête. It exhibits a shepherdess seated in the middle of the landscape, "near a barn, having on a grey dress, and her head covered with a little red hood, such as the simple bourgeois usually wore; her lap was filled with white, blue and red flowers; her dog and her crook were near her; and at some distance, appended to a large tree, were two cuirasses, one black, the other white. In the middle distance was seen a flock of sheep in a fold."

"The tourney of Saumur had been quite of a military character. That of Tarascon was almost a fête champêtre. The knights appearing each in a shepherd's dress, which they wore over their armour. The prize was a bouquet, and a kiss from the shepherdess. We are not told the name of this lady, but the author gives us to understand that, *malgré* the simplicity of her attire, she was a person of high rank. Amongst the knights who figured on this occasion were Philippe de Lenoncourt, Tauneguy

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

“Duchâtel, and Ferri de Lorraine. Louis de Beauvau appeared with great *éclat* ; he was on a bay horse, armed in red, and on his shield were these words, in golden letters, ‘*les plus rouges y sont près.*’ After a violent and doubtful combat against Philibert de Laigle, he at last shivered to atoms the lance of his adversary. Philippe de Lenoncourt next entered the lists. Tauneguy Duchâtel, carrying with great mirth the lady of Pontève behind him, advanced against him. They attacked each other so vigorously that their lances both broke at the same instant, and Lenoncourt shivered two others also of his antagonist, who then yielded him the victory, and departed, with his courageous lady, who kept her seat throughout this terrible encounter.”

“The fête being ended, the shepherdess mounted her horse, and to the sound of instruments, twice made the tour of the lists, accompanied by her two admirers, and preceded by the heralds and judges. She thus arrived at the house of Louis de Beauvau, who furnished her with a magnificent supper. She then went to the castle, preceded by a herald, who bore a white wand in one hand, and in the other the grand prize, which was a golden rod and a brilliant diamond. The *poursuivant-at-arms* demanded of the King, who was the victorious knight to whom he adjudged the prize? Guy de Laval and Louis de Beauvau had each of them broken three lances, the number prescribed for the grand prize, but Ferri of Lorraine had broken four, and it was awarded to him. This valiant knight accepted it, but only as an ornament for the head of the noble shepherdess.”

This tournament, which was executed in true pastoral style and good taste, and which attracted numerous actors and spectators to Tarascon, lasted three

days only ; and we learn from the poem of Louis de Beauvau that the handsome women of Provence saw with regret the conclusion of the "Emprise."* This was René's last tournament.

The gratification experienced by this prince in these romantic entertainments, led him to seek "the exaltation of knighthood, and to found an Order to promote it still more for the 'honour of God and of the church,' and that 'all noble hearts should daily increase and augment their well doings,' in courtesy and fair behaviour, and likewise in valiancy and feats of arms."

So says Bourdigné, the historian of Anjou ; but we do not learn whether the young prince, Edward, became a member of this "Order ;" and it is probable he did not, as his arrival in France with the Queen, his mother, was about the time of the suppression of this Order by Pope Paul II.†

The chivalric fêtes were suspended in 1448, when René had to mourn for the loss of his two relatives, Marie Duchess of Calabria and Antoine de Vandemont ; the former was an amiable princess, adored by her husband, family, and subjects. The latter had, before his death, entirely overcome the enmity which had previously existed between himself and René.‡ It was in the year 1448 that René, while at Angers, instituted the military Order of the Knights of the Crescent, which Pope Paul II. suppressed in 1464.§ The knights of this Order bore on the collar a Crescent, pendant, with the words inscribed, "Los en Croissant," afterwards familiar to King Charles VIII. of France.

The symbol of this Order, a crescent of gold, had "the word 'Loz' enamelled in letters of blue, which formed, with the crescent on which it was written, a

* Bodin ; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bourdigné.

§ Some say 1469.

“sort of rebus, signifying that one acquires ‘Loz,’ “that is, praise, by growing in virtue.” The knights attached to this Crescent a tagged point of gold,* enamelled in red, after each action in which they had distinguished themselves. Their costume was a cassock and a mantle† of white velvet, over which they wore a great cloak of crimson velvet; bordered with ermine for the princes, and with linen of two colours for the gentlemen. Under the right arm they wore the decoration of the Order of the Golden Crescent, suspended from a chain of the same metal, attached to the upper part of the sleeve.‡ St. Maurice became the patron of this new Order, and the south wing of the cathedral of Angers was covered with heraldry, for it became the chapel of these knights.§ The statutes of this Order commanded fraternity and mutual succour.

The knights swore by their “share of Paradise,” and by “the redemption of their souls.” Their chief was called Senator, and his office annual. It was first filled by Guy de Laval. The object of Pope Paul II., who was the enemy of René, in suppressing this Order, was to free the Neapolitan knights, who were members of the “Crescent,” from their oaths, and to prevail on them to unite in the interests of Ferdinand of Arragon, against René of Anjou, who, nevertheless, continued to bear the badges of this Order even to the time of his death.§

The rupture of the truce between England and France, drew René of Anjou from his pleasing occupations, and, at the head of his veteran troops and the Provençal nobility, he came to the aid of the King.

* Aiquillette.

† Mantlet.

‡ Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont; Selden's Title of Honour.

§ Godard Faultrier.

of France against the English. He was present at the taking of several cities, and when King Charles VII. entered in triumph the city of Rouen, René marched on his right hand, and the Count of Maine on his left. René has been described as "brilliant, mounted on a "palfrey, with a horse-covering of azure velvet, interspersed with lily flowers of gold, and the cross of "Jerusalem."

René was also in the battle of Fourmigni, and at the capture of Caen and Falaise. The valour and conduct of the Angevine prince in these wars, may have deserved eulogium, but his neutrality would have been doubtless very serviceable to the interests of his daughter, Queen Margaret, who, upon the loss of Normandy and Guienne, was, with her ministers, suspected of treachery; and throughout England great disorders arose owing to the discontents of the people.*

When in Anjou, René inhabited by turns the castles of Angers, Saumur, and Baugé. He was popular and liberal, living without pomp, whether in town or country. He was fond of building, and when not thus occupied for himself, he employed himself about the houses of the poorest of his subjects, or for those who were encumbered by a numerous family.

A writer of his times says, that, to this taste of René for construction, we must attribute the numerous escutcheons on the houses of Anjou. They were placed upon the houses which René rebuilt or repaired, and this has rendered the name of the "Good Duke" so popular in Angers.†

Out of respect to his patron saint, René rebuilt the Château de Possonnière and the Chapelle de St. René.

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† Bodin; Bourdigné.

This reconstruction was in the middle of the fifteenth century. The charming ogival windows of the chapel were ornamented with coloured glass, and one of them represented the resurrection of St. René.* The Castle of Baugé was also built by René, who was regarded as the founder of the town of Baugé.

In the midst of a forest a beautiful lodge had been erected, in former times, by Foulques Nerra, around which a small village had been formed. It became a bourg, and a little church was added. The name of this place was derived from the muddy soil (the resort of wild boars), whereon this place was built, and in René's time it became a handsome town, although without commerce or manufactures. René was greatly attached to this place, and also to Saumur, where he built a house in the Faubourg of the Bridges, called by the people the "Palace of the Queen of Sicily." The front of this dwelling was enriched with the armorial bearings of King René. These became in part effaced by time, but the shield long remained visible, bearing the decoration of the Order of the Knights of the Crescent. Round the escutcheon was a chaplet of large berries, in the midst of which were the words: "Devot lui suis." This was a device of this good king to testify his love for his Queen Isabella, and he afterwards assumed a new one, expressive of his grief for her loss. Not far from Angers, where his consort resided, René constructed the charming hermitage of La Baumette † (named by him from Saint Baume, so celebrated in Provence), and this he caused to be erected on a rock, watered by the Mayenne. It was to divert the attention of Isabella in her dangerous illness, that René undertook this work, and to accom-

* Godard Faultrier ; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† La Baumette (the Little Balna), a monument of conjugal piety, may still be seen ; and at Saumur, "La maison de la Reine de Cecile," though defaced by time.

plish a vow he had made to re-establish it. About the same period, René, indulging his taste for architecture, built a little manor house in Reculée, as well as a hermitage, afterwards resorted to by Queen Margaret of Anjou, when she made the cession of her rights to Louis XI.*

Isabella of Lorraine had been for some years subject to attacks of a disease, which, at this time, returned with increased violence. She had renounced the pleasures of a court whose ornament she had been, and had been living in Anjou, in the most profound solitude, no longer joining in the fêtes or the politics of the times, her only amusement being the education of her young grandchildren, and religious exercises. She adopted an extreme simplicity in her manner of living, in place of the magnificence formerly observed in her palace. She also put a stop to all superfluous expense, in order to augment, by her own economy, the money requisite for the King, her husband. René still preserved for his consort, after thirty-two years of marriage, the most tender affection; and the good understanding so visible in their union, contributed to increase the admiration with which his subjects regarded him. Often would he seek to delude himself on the subject of this incurable malady, which bore with it the marks of a decay which Isabella sought by every means to conceal from him; and at times he would try to escape from the cruel thoughts which haunted him, by hunting in the forests of Saumur, Beaufort, and Baugé; but these scenes were even less frequently the witness of his skill in these sports, than of his melancholy reveries, excited by the dangerous condition of his beloved Isabella. Then would restlessness and vague presentiments bring him back to her side, where, with new

* Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

ardour, he would return to those pious reflections which had never been extinguished in his soul. At length, Isabella's strength visibly diminished from day to day, and she expired on the 28th of February, 1453.* She was buried in the church of St. Maurice, at Angers, near the tomb of the second family of Anjou-Sicily.†

It is needless to dwell on the grief of King René when bereft of his beloved consort. In solitude, on the banks of the rivers, amongst the willows, and in the green meadows, he would indulge his sad thoughts: sometimes fixing his eyes on the water, he would give himself up to a placid reverie, perhaps beholding, in the now tranquil, now noisy wave, some image of his own chequered life. To those who sought to console him he only replied by an Italian device,‡ in imitation of a verse of Petrarch: "*Arco per lentare detendere piaga non sana*," § "Relâcher l'arc ne guerit pas la plaie."

King René had, by Isabella of Lorraine, nine children: five sons and four daughters. Of these, five died in their infancy.|| Those who were distinguished in history were John, Duke of Calabria, the eldest son; Louis de Pont-à-Mousson, Duke of Bar; Yoland, Duchess of Lorraine; and Margaret, Queen of England.¶

To sooth his grief, and in remembrance of his love for his consort, René painted on the walls some vessels filled with fire, with these words: "*D'ardant desir*;"

* Some date this event on the 22nd of February; others say the death of Isabella occurred in the year 1452.

† Moreri; Monfaucon; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Villeneuve Barge-mont.

‡ This new device was a bow, of which the cord was loose, with the Italian saying, "To unstring the bow does not heal the wound."

§ Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

|| They were Charles, René, Nicholas, Isabella, and Anne.

¶ Moreri.

round this symbol he put a chaplet of pater-nosters, in which was expressed, in Italics, "*Devot lui suis.*"

In the year 1453, René of Anjou again took up arms, at the solicitation of François Sforza, Duke of Milan, and of the Florentines, his old allies, who were attacked, at this time, by the King of Arragon and the Republic of Venice. Sforza held out hopes to him of making war against Naples, when the contest on this side the Alps should be ended; and René again flattered himself with the hope of chasing Alphonso from Italy. He repassed the Alps, continually giving proofs of his talents and bravery; but was soon induced to abandon this enterprise. The intrigues of Alphonso in the Milanese camp, and amongst the Milanese, their unjust rivalry, and insufferable pretensions, quite disgusted him, and he returned into France, leaving behind him his son John to maintain the cause; but even he also became displeased, and withdrew from this war.

Some write that the Angevine Prince came to Geneva, with but two vessels, and so small were his forces, and mean the condition of his court, that contempt only was excited towards him, while doubts arose respecting his skill and capability of governing. This opinion was also adopted by some of the French: the Dauphin, (afterwards Louis XI.), had led on a body of infantry.

1453.
Daniel.

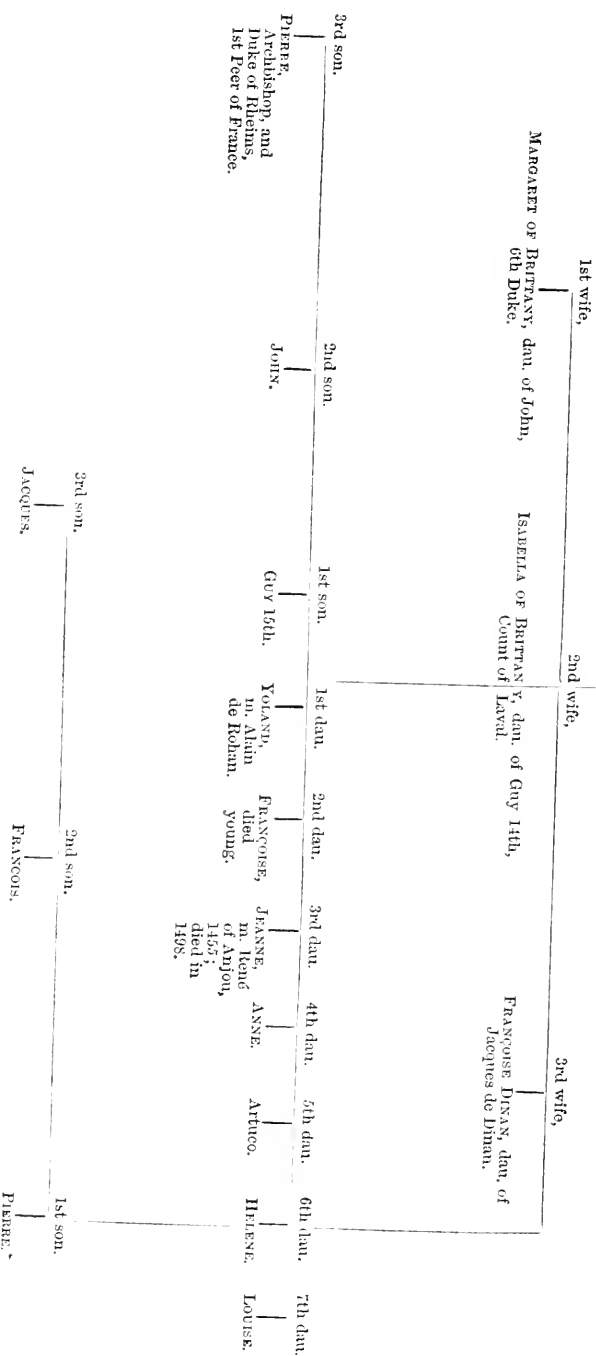
The French, who eagerly undertook this enterprise, advanced as far as Asti; but, at the expiration of three months, they all returned to their own country, apparently without any reason.

John, Duke of Calabria, was extremely chagrined to see himself thus abandoned, and especially by the King, but it is probable that he might have perceived the futility of these struggles for the kingdom of Naples.*

* Daniel; Mariana; Godard Faultrier; Moreri; Bodin.



GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF LAVAL, (GUY 14th OF LAVAL.)



* Hist. de Montmorency et de Laval, par André Du Chesne.

Upon his return from Italy René gave up the duchy of Lorraine to his son,* and again returned to his beloved Anjou. He was more than ever disgusted with public affairs, and resigned himself to the arts, especially to that of miniature painting on vellum. Ennui still followed him amidst these peaceful occupations, and yielding to the susceptibility of his heart, he united himself in marriage with Jeanne de Laval, the same Princess who had been so much distinguished by him at the tournament in Anjou, eight years before.

René was at this time forty-seven years of age, and his second consort was twenty-two. Their marriage was celebrated in the Abbey of St. Nicholas, at Angers, on the 16th of September, 1455. The Cardinal of Foix, Archbishop of Arles, officiated.

Jeanne de Laval was the daughter of Guy, 14th Count of Laval, and of Isabella of Brittany, his second wife.

Guy de Laval succeeded Raoul de Montfort, his paternal grandfather, in the estates and titles of Montfort, and obtained such favour with King Charles VII., that he erected his barony of Laval into the seventeenth county, in July, 1429. This was granted with Margaret of Brittany, the daughter of John, sixth Duke of Brittany, and of Joana of France, the sister of Charles VII. When this Princess died, Guy de Laval married Isabella of Brittany, elder sister of Louis III., Duke of Anjou.† The offspring of this union were three sons and seven daughters. Of these the third daughter was married to René of Anjou.

The articles of René's marriage were signed, 3rd

* Some write, that John of Anjou reigned in Lorraine from the time of the death of his mother, Isabella of Lorraine.

† Guy de Laval became again a widower, and married Françoise de Dinan, Lady of Chateaubriant, only daughter of Jaques de Dinan.

September, 1455, by Louis de Beauvau, Guy de Laval, and the sire of Loué, in the presence of Anne de Laval, the grandmother of the bride, the Counts of Vendôme and Tancarville, the Lord of Loheac, Raoul de Bosket, and Olivier de Feschal.

The dower of Jeanne de Laval was valued at 40,000 crowns of gold, about 368,000 francs.*

From the period of this second marriage the Angevine Prince appears to have renounced all projects of conquest. He conducted his new wife through Anjou, and into Provence, where they remained several months : René so regulating his time as to divide it between the administration of his States and the amusements afforded him by poetry, painting, and music.† But it seemed to be the destiny of René never to be allowed to taste of the quietude for which he so constantly longed.

Italy had enjoyed, for some time, the sweets of repose ; but, in 1456, Alphonso, King of Arragon, again began to trouble it. He ravaged the territories of the Siennois, who were defended by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and they compelled him to make compensation for the injuries he had done, by the payment of a sum of money.

Two years elapsed, and Alphonso attacked Genoa by sea and land. The city was divided into two factions, the Fregoses and the Adornes. Of these Alphonso took part with the latter, while the former was supported by the Duke of Calabria, to whom succours were dismissed by the King of France ; and King René came in sight of Genoa, with ten galleys, to the help of the commander, who had been acting on the defensive with great valour.

* Monfaucon ; Moreri ; Bodin ; Hist. de Montmorency et de Laval, par André Du Chesne ; Godard Faultrier ; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Godard Faultrier ; Mariana ; Daniel.

René's fleet consisted of 1,000 good soldiers, united with those of the King of France, amounting to 6,000 men, sent from Dauphiné, with other reinforcements from Savoy. A fierce battle ensued, but the Genoese, by a stratagem, obtained the victory, and the French were obliged to fly to their galleys, the Genoese pursuing them, and making great slaughter. The city was on the point of surrender, when Alphonso was attacked by a malignant fever, which in a few days terminated his life, in July, 1458. This Prince left no legitimate children, therefore his brother, Don John, King of Navarre, became his true heir; but Alphonso had bequeathed the kingdom of Naples to his natural son, Ferdinand, who took peaceable possession of the throne.* The Neapolitan barons, however, began to cabal against his succession, and even intreated Don John to come to Naples; but this prince contented himself with the kingdom of Arragon and the island of Sicily, which his brother had left him, upon which the lords of Naples called in the Duke of Calabria, son of René of Anjou. This brave Prince was easily prevailed upon to undertake the invasion of Naples, and, accompanied by his relative, Ferry de Vaudemont, hastened into Italy.

Unfortunately, at this crisis, Pope Calixtus died; and his successor, Pope Pius II., declared for the Arragonese, and gave the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand, at which King René was so indignant that he forbade his people to obey the decrees which might issue from the Court of Rome.

1461.
Daniel.

Florence and Venice united with the Angevine prince; but Sforza continued in alliance with Ferdinand, thinking this the best safeguard for his own dynasty.

Orsini, Prince of Tarentum, the most powerful

* Mariana; Daniel.

vassal of the crown, and a large proportion of the Neapolitan nobles, besides Piccinino, the last of the great Condottieri, with whom were the veterans of the former wars, all joined in supporting the banner of Anjou. But in spite of this, the Duke of Calabria was destined to experience the fate of all his family, in their competition for the throne of Naples. He had at first brilliant success, and gained a battle near Sarno; but the Pope would never be reconciled to the House of Anjou, and this expedition failed through one of those defections so common amongst the Italians. The desertion of the Genoese, on whose enmity to the House of Arragon the Duke of Calabria had relied, was aggravated by this Prince's want of resources: this being perceived by the barons of his party, they all returned, one by one, to the allegiance of Ferdinand.*

This was the last attempt made by the Angevine Princes for the possession of their Neapolitan dominions; and René was the last sovereign of Naples, of the race of Anjou.†

In conclusion, says Bodin, "it behoves us to
 "destroy a calumny, by refuting a great error which
 "has escaped Villaret in his History of France.
 "This author says, 'that at the time of the expedition
 "of Charles VII., in 1461, against the town of Genoa,
 "in which René of Anjou commanded a thousand
 "gens d'armes, whom he had embarked at Marseilles,
 "this Prince remained during the action on board his
 "galleys; and that, seeing his troops beaten and in con-
 "fusion, enraged to find that his gens d'armes had not
 "gained a victory, which he had not had the courage to
 "dispute at their head, he commanded that his vessels

* Hallam's *Mid. Ages*; *Eccles. Hist.*; *Moreri*; *Universal Hist.*; *Monfaucon*; *Mariana*; *Daniel*.

† Bodin; Villaret; Mezerai; *Universal Hist.*

“ should set sail from the coast, thus abandoning those
 “ unfortunate French to the discretion of the con-
 “ queror. This action, equally cowardly and barbar-
 “ ous, covers the memory of King René with an
 “ indelible shame.’ Happily, this act, affirmed on
 “ such slight evidence by Villaret, and contradicted by
 “ the well-known character of the Prince, is found
 “ only in one single contemporary historian, Jean
 “ Simonetta, who, in reporting it in the life of Ludovic
 “ Sforza, sworn enemy of René, still gives it only as a
 “ popular report, to which he dared not attach credit.
 “ How then could a French historian admit, without
 “ examination, so odious a calumny, one which tends to
 “ tarnish the glory of a prince whose life was distin-
 “ guished by so many acts of bravery and humanity.”*

By the adoption of Queen Joanna I., the only advantage derived by the second branch of the House of Anjou was the county of Provence; for, after so many unfortunate struggles for the crown of Naples, fortune decided in favour of the crown of Arragon.†

At the time when Louis XI. ascended the throne René was residing peaceably at Angers; and had it not been for the presence of their Prince, the county of Anjou would have been involved in fresh troubles. The nobles detested the new monarch of France; or rather his hostile system towards the feudal families, and they readily united to compel him to modify his government.‡

There is much obscurity in the writings of this period concerning the locality in which King Henry concealed himself during this season of his adverse fortunes. The first account we have quoted, viz., that he took refuge in Harlech castle, conveys no further particulars of his stay in that fortress, or of the time of his departure from it. Stow’s account differs materially

1464.
 Godard
 Faultrier.

* Bodin.

† Gibbon.

‡ Godard Faultrier.

from the other historians. He says, "King Henry fled "four days before the battle of Hexham into Lancashire, "where he and others lived in caves full hardly, unknown more than a year." It is certain that he had in Lancashire and in Westmoreland many friends; the natives of these counties were sincerely attached to his interests, and their fidelity enabled him to conceal himself for some months.*

During this period, however, he endured many privations. He was often secreted in the house of John Machell, at Crakenthorpe, in Westmoreland. He also dwelt at Waddington Hall, in Lancashire, and memorials of his presence were traced at Whalley Abbey and Bracewell; but the chief residence of this unfortunate monarch appears to have been at Bolton Hall, in Yorkshire. One apartment, on the western side of the court which he occupied, was called, "King "Henry's room," and the canopy † still remains under which, says Whitaker, "the unhappy Prince ate the "bread of affliction during his seclusion from the "world."

The probable cause why Henry sought refuge at Bolton has been thus accounted for: the proprietor of this hall, Sir Ralph Pudsey, had married Margaret Tunstall, the daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall, who was esquire of the body to the King, and attended him on this occasion.‡ Thurland Castle, the residence of Tunstall, being in danger, and in a less retired situation, the King came to Bolton, where the loyalty of Sir Ralph afforded him a secure asylum; nor was this the first occasion upon which this family had sheltered their persecuted sovereign. The race of the Pudseys had been

* Stow; Rymer; Lingard; Carte.

† This canopy resembles those in the halls of the College of Manchester and of the Carthusians, the Charter House, in the metropolis.

‡ Whitaker's History of Craven.

distinguished by a course of loyalty and hospitality, and the fidelity of Sir Ralph was never impeached in the treacherous proceedings which subsequently deprived this King of his freedom. The dutiful attachment of Pudsey was not, however, sufficient safeguard to the dethroned monarch, who, probably, being under some apprehension that his retreat was about to be discovered, quitted Bolton Hall, where he had passed some months in security, and repaired to Waddington Hall.

While at Bolton, Henry had given orders for a well to be dug, and walled round for a bath ; this well still bears his name, and, even at the present day, continues to be venerated by the peasants for many remarkable cures said to have been wrought there.* Some relics of interest were left at Bolton by King Henry ; these were a pair of boots, a pair of gloves, and a spoon. The gloves reached to the elbow, and, by them, it would appear that the hands were exactly proportioned to the feet, and not larger than those of a middle-sized woman.† It has been remarked that “in an age when the habits of the great, in peace as well as in war, required perpetual exertions of bodily strength, this unhappy Prince must have been equally contemptible from corporeal and from mental imbecility.”

His enemies probably thus regarded him ; but if this were the case, how much more does it argue in favour of the benevolent qualities of this monarch, who, undoubtedly, inspired much respect for his character, and even so attached those to him, who

* Roby's Lancashire ; Gent.'s Magazine ; Stow.

† The relics left at Bolton by the King were, for their better preservation, deposited in an ark in the year 1822, which was constructed for the head of the present family. The ark was made of oak, and beautifully designed and executed in the architecture of the fifteenth century. On a brass plate within, an account is given of the circumstances under which these relics were left.

were his immediate attendants, that they never forsook him, and even shared his captivity.* When Henry fled for safety to the "Peel of Bolton," as this castle was called, he was accompanied by Doctor Manning, Dean of Windsor, Doctor Bedle, and young Ellerton, who all shared his dangers and cheered his solitude; they were even conveyed with him on his capture, to the Tower of London.

The castles of Bracewell and Waddington, at this time, belonged to Sir John Tempest; and an alliance having just been formed between the Tempests and Talbots,† it may be inferred, that to preserve their estates, they consented to deliver up the unfortunate monarch to Sir John Harrington, for after this treachery they were suffered to enjoy their lands in quiet possession; while Sir John Harrington "was rewarded," as expressed in the grant to him, "for his great and laborious diligence in taking our great traitor and rebel Henry, lately called Henry the Sixth, with the estates of Sir Richard Tunstall, of Thurland Castle, to the amount of £100, by King Edward the Fourth, on the 9th of July, 1465."‡ After having been concealed by his faithful subjects for many months, some say even for a whole year, while the most diligent search was made after him, Henry's retreat was at last discovered through the perfidy of a black monk of Abingdon; and Sir John Harrington, with a party of soldiers, surprised the King whilst at dinner, at Waddington Hall, and made him their prisoner.

The account of Leland concurs with the tradition of the country, that he was betrayed by Thomas Talbot

* Roby's Lancashire; Gent.'s Mag.; Baker; Stow; W. of Worcester.

† The Tempests and Talbots had annuities out of Bolland and Tichel till they could be provided with lands.*

‡ Rymer.

* Rot. Parl.; Baker; Henry; Roby's Lancashire; W. of Worcester; Gent.'s Magazine; Stow.

and his cousin, John Talbot, of Colbey (Salisbury); that when the house was beset, the King, by some means, escaped, and ran across the fields, when he passed the Ribble by a ford, called Bungerely Hippingstones, into Clitterwood, and there, being closely pursued, was taken. He was treated with great indignity by his captors, who, strictly guarding him, conveyed him to London. The capture of King Henry took place on the 29th of June, 1465; and Sir John Tempest shared with the Talbots in the rewards bestowed for this act by King Edward.

1465.
Lingard;
Arundel
MS.

On his approach to London, King Henry was met at Islington by the Earl of Warwick, who formally arrested him as "Henry of Lancaster," and "forth-with," says the chronicler, "his gilt spurs were taken from his feet."* The Earl of Warwick did not come out to meet him to show his respect, but to see him conducted in safety to the Tower. He caused his legs to be bound with leather straps to the stirrups of the small pony which he rode, and in other respects showed him much indignity: a great barbarity towards one, whose meek and patient conduct under adversity, entitled him to universal respect. In this degraded manner King Henry entered London, by way of Chepe and Cornhill. It had been proclaimed that no man should, under pain of death, salute him, or pay him the smallest mark of respect. His public and humiliating entrance into the metropolis, exposed him to the insults of the fickle multitude, who, on former occasions, had been accustomed to testify their reverence for his virtues by shouts of applause; some of the citizens, indeed, were much disturbed by this proceeding, but did not dare to betray their senti-

* Holinshed; Stow; Baker; Carte; Fabyan; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Rymer; Pinkerton; Gent.'s Mag.; Monstrelet; Lingard; Baines's Lancashire.

ments. The Earl of Warwick not only behaved towards him in the most insulting manner, but even encouraged the mob to deride him : he preceded the deposed monarch to the Tower, crying "Treason! treason! behold the traitor!" and when they reached the place, King Henry was led three times round a tree, which was placed in the front of the Tower (in the manner of a pillory), and then confined within that fortress, a strong guard being set to watch over him.

This monarch's personal safety at this time was less owing to the generosity of the Yorkists, than to their opinion of his inability to give them any uneasiness.

While in prison King Henry was treated with humanity, but kept in the most rigorous confinement. To an ambitious mind, a tedious imprisonment in the Tower of London would have been insupportably irksome; but, to the gentle and unassuming Henry of Lancaster, it seemed but a haven of refuge from the storms and troubles of life.*

It was during this captivity that the unfortunate monarch probably penned the following lines, which exhibit the composure of a truly pious and resigned heart.

"Kingdoms are but cares ;

"State ys devoyd of staie ;

"Ryches are redy snares,

"And hastene to decaie.

"Who meaneth to remoffe the rocke

"Owte of the slymie muddle,

"Shall myre hymselfe and hardlie scape

"The swellynge of the flodde." †

* Biondi ; Fabyan ; Stow ; Toplis ; Baker ; Addit. MS. ; Rymer ; W. of Worcester ; John Rous ; Ridpath ; Rapin ; Henry ; Sharon Turner ; Hume ; Barante ; Roby's Lancashire ; Barrow ; Monstrelet ; Bayley's Hist. of the Tower ; Daniel.

† Nugæ Antiquæ.

Fortune appeared now to have utterly deserted the House of Lancaster ; yet the contest between the two Roses was not altogether ended, seeming, rather, to be hushed to a temporary rest, while the energies of Queen Margaret reposed, only to become invigorated and to prepare for more desperate resolves. Meanwhile, one might exclaim, in the language of the poetess,—

“ Oh Rose ! who long hath bloom'd the pride
“ Of England's garden, hang thy head !
“ The dew upon thy leaves is dried !
“ The generous, bright, exulting red,
“ The triumph of thy cheek, is fled !
“ And one less beautiful shall raise
“ Her stem, where now thy bloom decays !
“ York's rose is now the garden's queen !
“ York's star to fortune lights the way !
“ Nay, Heaven is pledged ! York's eyes have seen,
“ Responsive to their glances keen,
“ Three golden, glorious suns at once illumine his day.” *

Many, indeed, were the British hearts by whom the Lancastrian rose was still cherished ; but, humbled and abashed, they sought refuge at a distance from the gaze of a court, or the allurements and splendours of society.

* Miss Holford's Margaret of Anjou.

CHAPTER V.

(*King Edward.*)

“ Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;
“ Her words do show her art incomparable ;
“ All her perfections challenge sovereignty ;
“ One way or other she is for a king,
“ And she shall be my love, or else my queen.”

SHAKESPEARE.

(*The Earl of Warwick.*)

“ Did I impale him with the regal crown ?
“ Did I put Henry from his native right ?
“ And am I guerdon'd at the last with shame ?
“ Shame to himself ! for my desert is honour ;
“ And to repair my honour, lost for him,
“ I here renounce him, and return to Henry.”

SHAKESPEARE.

King Edward's marriage projected—Warwick sent to demand the hand of Bona of Savoy—Edward's interview with Elizabeth Woodville, and their marriage—Warwick offended—He returns to England—Enmity between Edward and Warwick, who withdraws from court—Jealousy of the nobility—Of Clarence and Montague—Marriage of the King's sister—Anger of Warwick against King Edward—He meditates revenge, and engages the Archbishop of York to assist him—Clarence marries—Insurrection in Yorkshire—Battle of Banbury—King Edward in prison—He escapes—Lord Wells is beheaded—Battle of Loosecoat Field—Vaucier's manœuvre—Louis attempts a reconciliation—Warwick meets Queen Margaret in France—They are reconciled—Marriage of Prince Edward—Clarence won over to Edward—Warwick returns to England—His army—Henry VI. proclaimed—Edward's flight—King Henry released from prison and restored to the throne.

THE youthful Edward was now enjoying the sunshine of prosperity, acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of a people who rejoiced in his favour and success.

No longer fearing civil discord, this monarch gave himself up to the dissipations and amusements of his high station. He lived in the most social and familiar

manner with his subjects, especially with the Londoners. His gallantry and handsome person rendered him a general favourite with the fair sex, while the young and gay of his own, found him all condescension and affability.

It was during this season of tranquillity, while King Henry was in captivity and Queen Margaret banished the kingdom, that Edward was, by the advice of his ministers, persuaded to confirm to his posterity his right to the crown, by his marriage with some foreign princess. The ladies who were selected were Isabella of Castile, who was afterwards married to Ferdinand of Arragon, and Bona of Savoy, the sister of the Queen of France. This last was chosen by King Edward, and the Earl of Warwick was dismissed to Paris to demand the hand of the lady.*

The King of France, whose thoughts were wholly occupied in his project of making himself absolute, was, in pursuance of this object, engaged in many quarrels with his barons. He was, however, highly gratified with the proposal of an alliance with England, by which, while increasing his own power, his vassals were prevented seeking foreign aid in their wars against him. To make sure of his advantage, Louis delayed the negotiation, while by the help of the Earl of Warwick he secured a personal friendship with King Edward.

This wise foresight was, however, rendered fruitless by the precipitate conduct of the English monarch, who, unaccustomed to control his passions, had during this interval wandered to a new object, accidentally presented to him, but calling forth so much romantic sentiment as to fix at once his affections.

While in Northamptonshire Edward had resolved to pay a visit to Grafton, the residence of Jacqueline of Luxembourg, the widow of the Duke of Bedford. Her

* Stow ; Pol. Vergil ; Milles's Catalogue ; Baker ; Rapin ; Hume.

second marriage to Sir Richard Woodville had brought upon her much censure and contempt, because of her union with a private gentleman. She had, however, obtained the favour of Queen Margaret for her daughter Elizabeth, who first left her home at Grafton to visit the court of this Queen, now there was no longer any favour or promotion from the House of Lancaster. The brave and devoted husband of Elizabeth had lost his life in supporting King Henry's cause, and his innocent children were exposed to the rancour of party feeling. They were deprived of their inheritance, their lands confiscated, and their old mansion bestowed on one of the Yorkists, who, taking possession, obliged Elizabeth with her children to seek refuge under the paternal roof. While she continued to reside there, and was dependent on her father's bounty, she devoted herself to the education of her sons, the eldest of whom was but four years of age. It was at Grafton, or, as some say, in the forest of Whittlebury, that King Edward first beheld Elizabeth; for this lady, thinking it a favourable opportunity to obtain the grace of the young King, threw herself on her knees before him, and besought him to restore the lands of her husband, and to take compassion on her destitute children.* King Edward was instantly smitten with the charms of the beautiful widow, and, touched by her distress, not only granted her request, but assured her that it was not in his power to refuse her anything. Shortly after, in a private interview, he made known to her his passion, which had so suddenly taken root in his breast under the guise of compassion; but all his importunities were unavailing, the virtuous Elizabeth, while she modestly confessed her unworthiness to become his queen, obstinately rejected every dishonourable proposal.

The esteem of Edward was heightened by the rigid

* Guthrie; Wethamstede; Hearne's Chron.

inflexibility of the lady, and he at last resolved to share his throne, as well as his affections, with the woman whose personal charms and dignity of character appeared to render her so worthy of them. King Edward was but twenty-two years of age, and he did not question his right to marry a subject.

This union was privately solemnised at Grafton, and for some time it was kept secret.* We are assured that none were present at these espousals, on the 1st of May, 1464, except the Duchess of Bedford, the priest, and two gentlewomen, with a young man to assist in singing.† It was not until this monarch prepared for the coronation of his Queen, that his marriage was divulged to the astonished people, who were expecting the match with Bona of Savoy to be speedily concluded.‡

1464.
Baker.

The Earl of Warwick, who had hastened the negotiations, when they were drawing to a conclusion, discovered that all his exertions were fruitless, through the unruly passions of the monarch who had employed him. He could not brook the affront which was put upon him. He had thought that King Edward entertained too much regard for him, to treat him so unworthily, and he felt indignant at this conduct in one, to whom he had rendered such essential services. He complained to the King of France, who could not fail to resent the slight thus offered to his family; and his anger was augmented by this monarch, whose situation at this time not allowing him to demand satisfaction, he wisely

* Some say that this marriage was not even known to Elizabeth's father, Lord Rivers. Carte places the date of this marriage on the 1st of May, 1463. He says it was concealed for more than a year previous to the battle of Hexham. The same date is given in Hearne's Fragment.

† The priest who married them was buried before the altar in the church of the Minories, at London Bridge.

‡ Baker; Rapin; Hume; Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Allen's York; Hearne's Chron.; Ridpath; Henry; Paston Letters.

concealed his sentiments, and awaited a more favourable opportunity of revenging himself.*

Meanwhile, the Earl of Warwick returned to England, but with a heart swelling with hatred and revenge. He abhorred the ingratitude of Edward, but perceived the necessity for concealing his sentiments; yet even in this endeavour he could not help betraying his disgust, and the King, although he still showed some favour to the Earl, gradually began to regard him in the light of an enemy. Their mutual hatred, in spite of their attempts to disguise it, became aggravated, and caused them much uneasiness.

King Edward gave the Earl great occasion for complaint, and this he did either to gratify himself, or to lessen the credit of the Earl with the people. Warwick perceived the King's design, but let it pass unnoticed, lest by untimely resentment he should place himself in such a situation that he could not revenge the insult which had been offered him.

Finding himself no longer regarded with the same favour as formerly, Warwick withdrew from Court, under the plea of indisposition; and, seizing an opportunity, he obtained leave to retire to the castle of Warwick. This Earl could not bear to witness the exaltation of Sir Richard Woodville, the Queen's father, who was created Lord Rivers, and engrossed the King's confidence, to the exclusion of Warwick, who was scarcely employed in public affairs, nor could the latter endure the diminution of his credit at Court. His ambitious mind made him discontented, although the grants which he had received from the Crown had increased his patrimonial estate to 80,000 crowns per annum; and he was displeased at beholding King Edward, jealous of the power which had supported him, daily advancing the authority of the Queen's

* Daniel : Baker ; Hume ; Rapin.

relatives as his rivals. The King justified his partiality to these individuals, seeking thus to counterbalance the great influence of Warwick, whom he had before assisted to exalt.* The Earl, on his part, acted with great dissimulation.

About Michaelmas, after the King's marriage, when Edward desired to make his union known to the public, Warwick and Clarence led Elizabeth by the hand to the Abbey of Reading, in the King's presence, and declared her Queen of England before the nobility and people there assembled, when the former paid her their compliments. Edward passed the Christmas at Eltham, and thence removed to Westminster; and about this time lands to the value of 4,000 marks were settled upon the Queen. Preparatory to her coronation, the King made, on Ascension Day, at the Tower of London, thirty-eight Knights of the Bath, amongst whom were several of the nobility, viz., Lord Dumas, Sir Bartelot de Ribaire, and Sir John Woodville, the Queen's brother, besides four citizens, viz., Thomas Cooke, Matthew Philip, Ralph Josselyn, and Harry Waver.

1464.

1465.

The coronation of the Queen took place on the 26th of May, 1465. On the 24th, Elizabeth was met at Shooter's Hill, in her way from Eltham to London, by the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens, nobly mounted and richly attired, who conducted her to the Tower.† On the next day, the 25th, she was conveyed in a horse litter, preceded by the new-made knights, to Westminster, where, on Sunday, the 26th, she was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the accustomed

1465.
Baker.

* Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Paston Letters; Carte; Hume; Lingard; Maitland's London.

† In Edward IV.'s reign the Tower of London was frequently a royal residence, perhaps from its proximity to the city, where the King so much sought to ingratiate himself with the people, who had assisted in his elevation. He kept his court there in this year (1465), and on other occasions also.

ceremonies. The pomp of the coronation was augmented by the presence of Count James of St. Pol, a prince of the House of Luxembourg, and the uncle of the Duchess of Bedford, who, with his hundred knights and their attendants, had been especially appointed and sent to England by the Duke of Burgundy.*

This array had been made purposely to please King Edward, and at his request, to show the high descent of his Queen, and to impress on the minds of his peers and subjects the worthiness of the object of his choice. Thus it was shown that the relatives who had disdained to notice the Duchess of Bedford, because she married a private gentleman, although "the handsomest in England," were ready to claim kindred again when her daughter was about to ascend the throne; and, proud of their connection, their enmities were all forgotten. The coronation was succeeded by splendid tournaments, held at Westminster for several days.†

At this time King Edward kept his court with great splendour at the Tower of London. Here it was that Edward began his career, by bestowing, with a lavish hand, favours, honours, and emoluments on the family and relatives of the Queen.

Her father, Lord Rivers, was made Treasurer and Grand Constable; her brother, Sir Anthony Woodville, was united to the greatest heiress of the land, the only daughter of Lord Scales, and this greatly offended the Duke of Clarence, the King's elder brother, who thought that the hand of that lady should have been bestowed on himself. Also John, a younger brother of the Queen, was wedded to the

* At the dinner and jousts which followed the coronation, the Earl of Warwick and his two brothers were not present.

† Baker; Hearne's Fragment; Fabyan; Henry; Ridpath; W. of Worcester; Lingard.

wealthy Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, who was then in her eightieth year, the bridegroom being only twenty years of age. The five sisters of the Queen were also bestowed in marriage by King Edward. Catherine was given to the young Duke of Buckingham; Mary to William Herbert, created Earl of Huntingdon; Anne to the son of Gray, Lord Ruthyn, created Earl of Kent; Margaret to Thomas, Lord Maltravers, son and heir of the Earl of Arundel; and Jaquette to John, Lord Strange, of Knocking.

The daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter, who was the niece of King Edward, was affianced to Sir Thomas Gray, one of the Queen's sons, and 4,000 marks were given to the bride, by Elizabeth. This match greatly offended Lord Montague, who had been treating for a marriage between his son and that lady, and he took it as an affront to the whole family of the Nevilles; this afforded another grievance also to the Earl of Warwick. Besides this Earl, many others of the nobility were dissatisfied and jealous at the sudden elevation and favour shown to the Queen's relatives, and their promotion to the first offices of the kingdom. Lord Montjoy had been displaced from his office of Treasurer, which was supplied by Lord Rivers; and that of High Constable, which had belonged to the Earl of Worcester had been also given to the same Lord Rivers; the King, meanwhile, created the Earl of Worcester Lieutenant of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence. Many nobles also, who had formed projects for the advancement of their own children, saw themselves superseded. The affability of the Earl of Warwick had rendered him popular, and the nobility had become accustomed to his magnificence and power, but sore complaints were raised against the new favourites. Although Warwick

at this time was not in office, his brothers were permitted to retain their former position. The Marquis of Montague held his post of Governor over the northern counties, there being no cause for apprehension on the side of Scotland; and the Archbishop of York was still Lord Chancellor.*

We may regard the marriage of King Edward with one of his subjects as the origin, in a great measure, of the rise of the middle-class in this country. The landed aristocracy was at this time all powerful, and fearing their influence, King Edward sought to counterbalance it, by making concessions to the lesser gentry and rich citizens, looking to them for protection and assistance. He continued to displace from office, and reduce the authority of the ancient nobility, who had maintained his pretensions, and, indeed, had placed him on his throne. By these means society became changed, and soon presented a new phasis; while the peculiar characteristics of feudalism gradually disappeared in England, as was also the case in France, through the efforts of monarchical power to remove vassalage and baronial independence.

It was the policy of the English monarch to keep on good terms with the foreign princes, that he might not create new enemies against himself; since the Lancastrians, although subdued, were still very numerous. The treaty with Scotland had been prolonged by him; and he had besides entered into a truce with Brittany, and also with France. After the affront which Edward had put upon the King of France, he could only regard him as a secret enemy, who would not fail, one day, to revenge himself; however, he resolved to keep on good terms with him, fearing he might yet be disposed to assist the House of Lancaster.†

* Baker; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard.

† Rapin.

Still more did King Edward desire to keep fair with Louis at this time, while he hastened the conclusion of a marriage between his third sister, Margaret, and the Earl of Charolois. Having sprung from the House of Lancaster, Charles, Earl of Charolois, had ever faithfully adhered to King Henry; but policy now instigated his alliance with Edward, in order that he might strengthen himself against the power of France.

This marriage did not meet the approval of Warwick, who avowed himself the enemy of this Earl; and it has been said that this was the commencement of the coolness between King Edward and his haughty subject.* However this might be, we find the Earl of Warwick, in 1466, employed, with Lord Hastings, in concluding the league of amity between King Edward and Charles of Burgundy, and also in conferring about the marriage. He had likewise been, in the same year, negotiating the peace with France. The French ambassadors returned with the Earl to London, their object being to prevent the marriage of King Edward's sister; but they had only a cool reception from the King, who then left the capital, appointing an inferior agent to reject their proposals, while the Earl of Warwick endeavoured, by his attentions to them, to compensate for the King's slight.

1466.
W. of Worcester.

Amongst his own friends the Earl spared not his menaces, and when the ambassadors had departed, he retired to Middleham, much discontented.†

Warwick hated most the ingratitude of King Edward. Certainly nothing can be more injurious to a monarch's reputation than behaviour which exposes him to such an imputation. No king ever was more indebted to a subject than Edward was to Warwick; and, in like manner, also to his two brothers:

* Lingard.

† Stow; W. of Worcester; Lingard.

indeed, to the exertions of these three, all members of one family, he owed his crown ; they were noble relatives, and superior characters, cast in no common mould.

Had the King esteemed them as he ought, and as sentiments of gratitude would have dictated, they might have survived the reign of faction, and, like valued gems, have adorned and sustained his crown. The King, however, permitting his passions to rule him, allowed these distinguished noblemen, whose admirable qualities, great fortunes, and dignities gave them naturally astonishing influence in all affairs of state, to be depressed and superseded by the rising power of the Woodvilles.

During the late absence of the Earl of Warwick in France, the bastard of Burgundy had come to London, under the pretext of performing feats of arms with Lord Scales, but also to negotiate the proposed marriage.

The Parliament met, but, under the plea of sickness, the Chancellor absented himself, when Edward, who had become suspicious of Warwick from his conferences with King Louis, went, with a great retinue, to the house of the prelate, and required him to give up the seals, and at the same time took from him two manors, which he had previously obtained from the crown. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the Queen's friends, was then appointed Lord Chancellor.*

An emissary from Queen Margaret having been taken in Wales about this time, gave information to King Edward that the Earl of Warwick was regarded in the French court as a secret partisan of the Lancastrians. Warwick refused to leave Middleham, and the accuser was brought there and confronted with him ; but the charge was dismissed as

* Rymer ; Lingard ; Monstrelet ; Rapin.

groundless. The King, however, ordered a body-guard of 200 archers to attend upon his person, and a rupture seemed inevitable; but it was prevented through the interference of their common friends, the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Rivers, who met at Nottingham, and arranged the terms of a reconciliation.* The Archbishop conducted his brother to Coventry, where King Edward received him graciously, and all offences between him and the Lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley being reciprocally pardoned, the Archbishop was rewarded for his services by the restoration of his two manors.

1467.
W. of Worcester.

Warwick, after this, appeared at Court, and when the marriage of King Edward's sister was finally settled, in 1467, and she departed, she rode through London behind the Earl of Warwick. The Princess Margaret was conveyed to Bruges, being accompanied by her two sisters, the Duchess of Exeter† and the Duchess of Suffolk,‡ with a splendid retinue.

A contemporary writer tells us that the Duke of Somerset, who had been staying with the Duke of Burgundy, "departed and all his bands, well be seen "out of Bruges, a day before that my lady the "Duchess Margaret, sister of Edward IV., came "hither; and they say that he is to Queen Margaret "that was, and shall no more come here again, nor be "holpen by the Duke."

From this time King Edward took part with his new relative, the Earl of Charolois, who, at this time, by the death of his father, Philip "the Good," became Duke of Burgundy. Edward also united with the Duke of Brittany. It was not for the interest of

* W. of Worcester; Lingard.

† The Duke of Exeter, her husband, was still in France, in great distress.

‡ This lady's husband was the son of Queen Margaret's favourite minister.

England to permit these Dukes to be subdued, by which the French King would gain a great accession of power, and become formidable to Edward, who neither loved Louis, nor cared to keep well with him any longer than policy required. We also find that when a conspiracy was discovered in favour of King Henry, the Earl of Warwick sat amongst the judges upon the trial.

In spite, however, of all these outward appearances, no real confidence existed; and the people, who perceived the approaching conflict, pitied their favourite, and blamed the ambition of the Queen and her relatives.*

The Earl of Warwick still harboured in his breast the keenest resentment. He resolved to make known that no one could affront him with impunity; and he secretly meditated revenge upon Edward.

He was the most haughty Earl that England had ever seen, and his pride was augmented by the services he had rendered to the House of York. The insult which the King had offered him, by marrying, while he was negotiating another match, could not be forgotten by him, and, besides, he had not been consulted by the King on the subject of his choice. Had any apology been offered by Edward, it is probable that the Earl's anger had been mitigated, and the affair overlooked; but the King treated him with contempt and silence, and even sought to lessen his credit with the people, thus greatly increasing the Earl's indignation. Another cause has been assigned, by some authors, for this Earl's displeasure, viz., an injury of a private nature, which Edward had offered to one of his daughters, and which does not seem to be improbable; however that may be, the Earl of Warwick only

* Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Paston Letters; Lingard.

concealed his anger more surely to effect his revenge.*

It appears uncertain whether King Edward, who might wish to get rid of his imperious counsellor, dismissed the Earl of Warwick or not ; but, in the month of June, 1467, he was engaged in a negotiation relative to commerce, and visited Louis XI. at Rouen. Some writers assure us that it was by invitation of this monarch, who sought to gain over a nobleman so influential in the kingdom ; and, indeed, it was to the interest of Louis to have England on his side in his quarrels with Burgundy. To this end he sent rich presents to Warwick, and sought to win his friendship, especially as he observed his increasing discontent with Edward. He sent messengers with flattering compliments to him ; nor was the Earl insensible to his favours, perceiving how much the power of the French would support his credit in England, which was then on the decline. He therefore accepted the invitation of Louis, and, quitting England, landed at Harfleur. The French King advanced to meet the Earl as far as the village of La Bouille, on the Seine, four leagues from Rouen, attended by several of his nobles. At this place Warwick arrived on the 7th of June, where a splendid repast had been prepared, of which having partaken, he paid his respects to the King, and then proceeded to Rouen by water, while the French King went thither by land. This was the first time that Louis had beheld the haughty Earl, whom he so much desired to conciliate.

The magistrates of Rouen, "in their formalities," advanced to receive the Earl as he landed at the Quay of St. Eloy, and then the priests came in their copes, bearing crosses, banners, holy water, and relics of

1467.
Comines ;
Barante ;
Rapin ;
Henry.

* Monfaucon ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin.

saints, and with great pomp and ceremony conducted him in procession to the Church of Notre Dame, where he made his offerings, and then proceeded to an apartment prepared for his reception, and magnificently ornamented, at the Jacobins, one of the religious houses.

Soon afterwards the Queen and Princesses came to Rouen, and the King remained there during a fortnight, (some say twelve days,) with the Earl of Warwick. He showed him all the respect due to a sovereign, appointed him a residence next his own, and, by a private door, he frequently visited him secretly.

When the Earl took his leave and returned to England, he was accompanied by the Admiral of France, the Bishops of Laon, St. John de Pompaincourt, St. Olivier le Roux, and several others, whom the King had appointed to attend him. From this time the Earl of Warwick became more the servant of Louis than of Edward, and daily assumed more boldness in manifesting his discontent.

While at Rouen the Earl of Warwick received from Louis XI. several fine and costly presents, one being a piece of gold plate, and another a large gold cup, set with precious stones. The Duke of Bourbon also presented him with a rich diamond ring, and other handsome gifts. He had, moreover, all his expenses and those of his attendants defrayed by the French King, from the time of his landing at Harfleur until he embarked for England.

In return for the handsome gifts made to the Earl of Warwick and his suite, King Edward afterwards sent to France some rich presents of hunting horns, bottles of leather, &c., and this seems to make it probable that Edward really did employ Warwick at the French Court. The potent Earl, if this was the case, doubtless seized the opportunity to secure

the assistance of Louis in accomplishing the object nearest his heart, viz., the dethronement of Edward; and from this time the Earl maintained a constant correspondence, in secret, with the French monarch.*

After his return to England, the Earl of Warwick began to carry his designs into execution. He first sought to win over his own brothers, the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague. He represented to them the great services they had all three rendered to King Edward, and how ill he had requited them, their rewards being inadequate to their merits. He charged the King with ingratitude, and with seeking to degrade their family in a manner intolerable to men of honour; and especially in the insult offered to himself in the affair of the marriage of the King. He concluded, by assuring them that he had resolved to let King Edward see that the hand which could assist him to a throne, was not less powerful in pulling him down; and he desired only their help in his undertaking.

The Archbishop of York was easily prevailed upon to enter into this project; Montague hesitated, made some objection, and adduced arguments, to which Warwick replied with eagerness. At length Montague conceded; but it was more out of complacence to his brother, than from his desire to participate in this plot.† The Earl next proceeded to communicate his project to the Duke of Clarence, who, having evinced great dissatisfaction at the conduct of the King, for bestowing on Lord Scales, the Queen's brother, the hand of the richest heiress in the kingdom, the Earl of Warwick had reason to think that he would gladly seize the opportunity of revenging himself; nor was he mistaken. Clarence heartily entered into his views, and

* Barante; Monfaucon; Philip de Comines; Monstrelet; Rymer; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Rapin; Henry; Lussan's Louis XI.

† Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Baker; Allen's York; Rapin.

the Earl of Warwick, to secure him, proffered him the hand of his daughter Isabella, to whom Clarence was attached, and he bestowed a considerable fortune as her dower, being the half of the lands which Warwick held in right of his wife. Thus the King's eldest brother became strictly united with his greatest enemy, who had even plotted to dethrone him. Surely the ties of blood and of affection should have for ever deterred him from engaging in this conspiracy. It was ambition which stifled the voice of nature; and pride, wounded pride, urged on to the most desperate and unlooked-for events.

Warwick even attempted to prevail on the Duke of Gloucester to join this confederacy, but he found him so reserved that he dared not close with him.*

The Duke of Clarence was, at this time, next heir to the crown, and King Edward, who was not ignorant of Warwick's ambition, anxiously endeavoured to prevent his brother's marriage; but in vain.

1467.
W. of Wor-
cester.

Soon after the interview between the Earl of Warwick and Clarence, they proceeded together to Calais, where the marriage was solemnised in the church of St. Nicholas. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York, the bride's uncle; but whether in privacy, or with the King's consent, the historians have been unable to decide. There is, indeed, much room for doubt on some events of this period.

Some authors assert, that it was only on the morning of the day of this marriage that the Earl of Warwick made known to Clarence, his project for the restoration of King Henry; and that the Duke, who until that time was in ignorance of it, then agreed to it. These two noblemen remained at Calais for some time after the marriage; and King Edward felt much secret dis-

* Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Barante; Villaret.

pleasure towards the Earl of Warwick on account of this union.

Others write that the Earl and Clarence returned to England, and enjoyed the favour of the King, who, as if regretting his former misconduct towards Warwick, made him Justiciary of South Wales, and afterwards Seneschal of the whole of that country. Edward must indeed, if this were true, have been in ignorance of the projects formed against him.*

In the year 1467, a servant of Robert Whittingham, named Cornelius, by trade a shoemaker, was seized at Queenborough, and letters being found upon him from Queen Margaret, who was then in France, he was tortured by fire, in order to make him discover the names of such noblemen and gentlemen as corresponded with the exiled Queen.† This cruel means of extorting confession was not uncommon in England at this time; the civil warfare, and the violence of party, being a great hindrance to the regular and impartial administration of justice throughout the kingdom. A kind of military government prevailed, and the High Constable, being invested with authority to inflict punishment, even of death, upon the most exalted subjects, without so much as having recourse to the proceedings of law, he not unfrequently acted on his own private conviction of their guilt. Persons of rank were sometimes put to death without any inquiry after evidence; and occasionally the Constable, in order to obtain a show of justice, would seek for proof by means of the rack, as in this case of Cornelius.‡

One of the letters found upon Cornelius was from his master, Whittingham, addressed to Thomas Dan-

1467.
W. of Worcester;
Stow.

* Stow; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Baker; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Barante; Rapin; Cont. Hist.; Croyl.; Villaret.

† Henry; W. of Worcester.

‡ Henry.

vers, which caused the latter to be arrested and committed to the Tower. Many confessions were made by Cornelius, which occasioned the apprehension of several persons; and amongst them of one John Hawkins, on a similar charge, viz., of receiving letters from Queen Margaret. Hawkins impeached Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord Mayor of London, of treason, and he was sent to the Tower. Lord Rivers was appointed to his office. Some writers assert that this nobleman contrived the removal of Cooke, and was assisted in this by his wife, the Duchess of Bedford; and we further learn that they also obtained the dismissal from his office of Chief Justice Markham, for having decided that Sir Thomas Cooke was not guilty of treason. These circumstances exhibit the high authority assumed by the new favourites.

This was the same Thomas Cooke to whom King Edward wrote, in confidence, from Stamford, in 1462, calling him "his trusty and well-beloved alderman of London," and earnestly beseeching his assistance at this time, when he felt in the midst of perplexities and alarms respecting the "designs of his great adversary " Harry, naming himself King of England, who, "through the malicious counsel of Margaret his wife, " naming herself Queen of England, had conspired "with others, his enemies, against him." Since that season of trial and difficulty the King had shown favour to Sir Thomas by making him, with others, a Knight of the Bath; this was at the Tower, on the 15th of May, previous to the coronation of his Queen. This distinction was probably to reward his services; but how were the times now changed with this worthy mayor, that the power and influence of a party, or family, should have so easily displaced him from his high position of trust and authority! The misfortunes of Sir Thomas Cooke arose, not only from his

adherence to the Lancastrian interests, but also from his great wealth and possessions, at a time when he had so powerful an enemy as Lord Rivers, the Treasurer.

The affair has been thus related. When Hawkins came to Sir Thomas Cooke, requesting him to lend a thousand marks on good security, he, hearing that this sum was designed for the use of Queen Margaret,* refused to lend it. Two or three years after, the said Hawkins, being imprisoned in the Tower, and being brought to the "Brake" (called the Duke of Exeter's daughter†), he confessed, amongst other things, this demand upon Sir Thomas Cooke. Hawkins was put to death, and Sir Thomas was sent, first to the Compter, in Bread Street, and thence to the King's Bench, in Southwark, and he was detained from Whitsuntide to Michaelmas. His residence in Essex, called Gyddihal, was spoiled, and the deer in his park destroyed; and although arraigned upon life and death, and acquitted on his trial at Guildhall, he was not set free until he had paid to the King £8,000, and to the Queen £800. Some writers say his estates were confiscated.‡ His lady shared in his misfortunes; for upon his apprehension she was, with her servants, turned out of her house, and only regained possession upon the acquittal of Sir Thomas, when they found their dwelling in an evil plight, the servants of Sir John Fogg§ and Lord Rivers having made havoc of whatever they pleased; and this they had done at their town, as well as country residence. They seized on their jewels and plate, and chief merchandise in cloth of silk, and cloth of

* This money was intended to pay an army the Queen was raising in France.

† So called because she had invented the torture.

‡ To this they also add that Cooke's wife was committed to the care of the present mayor.

§ Sir John Fogg was under-treasurer.

arras, which, being discovered, came into the Treasurer's hands.

Cooke had, at an earlier period, been befriended by the Lady Margaret, the sister of King Edward; but when she had quitted England, all these troubles fell heavily upon him.*

Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, held Denbigh Castle, and other places in Wales, in 1459, in behalf of King Henry VI., his half-brother; but in 1460, when the Yorkists were victorious, they wrested them from him. In the year 1468, this Earl of Pembroke returned with fifty followers, and but little money; yet, when reinforced by 2,000 Welshmen, they boldly marched to the royal palace at Denbigh, which they plundered, and set on fire, and burnt the town. Their object appeared to be destruction rather than conquest. Upon the arrival, however, of Lord Herbert, in North Wales, with an army of 10,000 men, Jasper Tudor was defeated, and of the prisoners taken, twenty were beheaded.†

The castle of Harlech still held out against Edward. Davydd ap Jevan ap Eynion, a British nobleman, who sided with the House of Lancaster, was still in possession of this fortress. This governor, a man of great stature and dauntless courage, was a firm supporter of King Henry's cause; and when Lord Herbert came, on the part of Edward, to summon him to surrender this castle, he gave a humorous reply, to this effect: "That having held out a castle in France, till all the old women in Wales talked of him, he would now defend his Welsh castle, till all the old women in France should hear of it."

To effect the reduction of this stronghold, King Edward had supplied Herbert, Earl of Pembroke,

* Stow; Baker; W. of Worcester; Maitland's London.

† Dugdale's Baronage; W. of Worcester; Carte; Rudland's Snowden.

1468.
W. of Worcester.

1468.
Stow;
Rudland.

with a powerful body of men. They had to encounter the greatest difficulties; their march was truly formidable, lying through a rough, alpine territory. This rugged line was afterwards called "Le Herbert," or "Herbert's Way," by which the castle was invested.

The prosecution of the siege was committed by the Earl to his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, a knight equal in prowess and valour to the commander of the castle. After a lengthened siege, beyond the ordinary duration, this fortress was found to be impregnable, and only to be reduced by famine. Then the general of the Yorkists entered into terms of honourable capitulation with Davydd, promising him safety and protection through his intercessions with the King. In this, however, he was not successful at first, until he boldly offered his own life, and threatened to reinstate the Welsh hero in the fortress, informing King Edward of the difficulty of gaining possession of it.*

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with his large army wasted and desolated the counties of Carnarvon and Merionethshire to the utmost, as the Welsh rhyme bears witness—

"Hardleek a Duibeek pob dor
Yn Cunnev

"Nanconway yn farvor

"Mil a phedwareant nae Jor

"Athrugain ag wyth rhagor."

"In Harleek and Duibeek every house

"Was basely set on fire,

"But poor Nanteonwy suffered more,

"For there the flames burnt higher;

"'Twas in the year of our Lord

"Fourteen hundred and sixty-eight,

"That these unhappy towns of Wales

"Met with such wretched fate."

* Barry's Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales; Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Wales; Rudland's Journey to Snowden.

In the castle of Harlech were taken Richard Tunstall, Henry Belingham, and William Stoke, knights, Whittingham, and others, to the number of fifty persons. They were conveyed to London by Lord Herbert, and imprisoned in the Tower. Two of these, named Thomas Elwick and Trublote, were beheaded on Tower Hill.*

1468. When Queen Margaret learned the news of the imprisonment of King Henry she was much distressed; but, far from desponding, she only redoubled her solicitations for help at the French Court. René had already given her all the assistance in his power.

With only a small force, Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, passed through Normandy on their way to England; for the Queen had resolved to make an attempt to rejoin her husband. Along with Prince Edward she visited the Abbey of Bec, situated nine leagues from Rouen, and stayed five days in that monastery, where they were received by Geoffrey d'Espagne, surnamed Benedict, who is said to have presided over this abbey for twenty-four years, with the greatest wisdom and prudence.

Queen Margaret afterwards pursued the road to Montfort, and thence to Honfleur, where she was to embark for England. This was about the end of October, 1468.

King Edward received intelligence at this time of the intention of Queen Margaret to invade England, and that with her son and some troops she lay at Honfleur, and he immediately sent out the Lords Scales and Montjoy with 5,000 men, in two large vessels, and with several galleys to guard the seas, and to prevent their landing. They were cruising up and down continually from the 25th of October until the

* Sir John Wynne's Hist. of the Gweder Family; Barry's Itinerary; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rudland's Snowden.

end of November, when the rough weather drove them into the Isle of Wight, of which Lord Scales was the Governor.*

After this, it may be presumed that the Queen gave up her project.

There was an insurrection in Yorkshire in the month of October, 1469. This was generally attributed to the Marquis of Montague, and his brother, the Archbishop of York; some historians say, it was preconcerted by the Earl of Warwick, who was preparing to assist in it, with his new son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence.

1469.
Stow;
Ridpath;
Rapin;
Henry;
Hume.

This mutiny was raised by some persons who had been bribed to do it. They caused a report to be circulated that the funds, which were raised voluntarily to maintain an hospital at York, had been misapplied, and were only used to enrich the directors of the hospital; that these contributions, which had in course of time become a kind of right, were not necessary, the hospital being sufficiently endowed. Upon this slight pretext, the people assembled to the number of 15,000, and, after killing some of the collectors, proceeded to York, having at their head Robert Holdern, or Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Riddesdale.

Montague collected a body of citizens, and sallied forth to meet the insurgents; he despatched a great many, and seized the chief, whom he ordered to be decapitated. This conduct would seem to remove any suspicion of the influence of Montague in raising this rebellion, but his subsequent behaviour bears a more decided character.†

When the news of this insurrection reached King Edward, he instantly dismissed orders for Sir William

* History of the Abbey of Bee; W. of Worcester; Bently's *Excerpta Historica*; Female Worthies.

† Howel; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Ridpath; Allen's York; Barante; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry.

Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Governor of Wales, to assemble all the forces he could collect, and prepare to march. Still the King did not suspect his own brother, or the Earl of Warwick, although he could not doubt that these commotions were occasioned by some of the Lancastrian party.

1469.

The insurgents, not discouraged by their late failure, had again recourse to arms, and placed at their head Henry, son of Lord Fitzhugh, and Henry Neville, son of Lord Latimer; one of these was a nephew, the other a cousin-german of the Earl of Warwick. These young commanders were guided by the experience of Sir John Conyers, a skilful warrior and a valiant man. This party at first proposed to get possession of York, but suddenly altered their minds and marched towards London. As they advanced they proclaimed "King Edward an unjust prince and an usurper." No motive could be assigned for the change in their course, and the affair of the hospital was altogether a pretext to assemble the people.*

The Earl of Pembroke and his brother set out to meet the disaffected, whose numbers were increasing in their march to the metropolis. The forces of Pembroke amounted to 10,000 men,† mostly Welshmen, and were joined by Lord Stafford, with a reinforcement of 800 archers. The insurgents first gained a slight advantage over a detachment headed by Sir Richard Herbert, the brother of Lord Pembroke, who had been dismissed to reconnoitre. The King exhorted Pembroke not to be disheartened by so inconsiderable a loss, and promised that he would join him with a large army.

The rebels, meanwhile, fearing to meet King Edward's army, resolved to withdraw to Warwick, but

* Howel ; Baker ; Pol. Vergil ; Ridpath ; Allen's York ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Hume ; Henry.

† Stow says 18,000 ; Baker 7,000.

were prevented doing so, by Pembroke, who, to revenge himself, marched towards them, and compelled them to halt.

The two armies encamped near each other upon Danesmoor, near Hedgecote, about four miles from Banbury. The battle which ensued has been variously called by the name of Hedgecote, Banbury, or Cots-wold, and took place on the 26th of July, 1469. Before its commencement, a quarrel arose between the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Stafford about quarters, and the latter deserted during the night with his 800 archers. The rebels, having received news of this defection, resolved to take advantage of it, and on the following morning, at break of day, they advanced in good order to attack the royalists. Henry Neville, one of the commanders, eagerly seeking to engage the enemy, lest they should endeavour to withdraw, was sharply encountered, taken prisoner, and put to death in cold blood. Irritated almost to fury by this barbarity, these northern adherents rushed impetuously upon their enemies, who seemed on the point of victory, when one John Clapham, a servant of the Earl of Warwick, joining in with 500 men, set up a cry of a Warwick! a Warwick! and then displayed the colours of this nobleman, with the white bear and the ragged staff, which, the Welshmen perceiving, they took to flight, believing the Earl had himself come. In spite of the heroism of Sir Richard Herbert, whose conduct that day has been highly commended, the Yorkists were completely routed. The Earl of Pembroke* and his brother, while valiantly fighting, were encompassed and taken prisoners. They were conveyed to Banbury, and, with ten other gentlemen, had their heads struck off to avenge the death of Henry Neville.

Their judges were Sir John Conyers and John

1469.
Stow;
Tiplis;
London
Chron.;
Lingard
Henry.

* Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had been newly created to this title.

Clapham ; but some tell us that they were beheaded by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick.

After this signal victory, the insurgents continued their march to Warwick, where they were joyfully received by the Earl of Warwick.*

King Edward was justly enraged against Lord Stafford for his desertion of Pembroke from a light quarrel, and for thus having caused the late defeat. He gave orders for his public execution, which took place in the town of Bridgewater. This Earl bore the disgraceful title of "an Earl of three months' standing and no more."† A few days after the battle of Banbury, the people of Northamptonshire assembled in great numbers, and, joining the rebels, proceeded in a tumultuous manner to Grafton House, the seat of the Earl of Rivers, the father of the Queen. They seized this nobleman and his son, and brought them to Northampton, where they were both beheaded in the most summary manner.‡

After these proceedings, it is surprising that King Edward did not discover that the Earl of Warwick was the real author of these insurrections. He was well aware that he was the sworn enemy of the Earl of Rivers, and the insurgents had been willingly received into the town of Warwick ; yet the King, although acquainted with the Earl's discontent, and that of his brother, the Archbishop, did not at this time suspect them.

The citizens of Warwick acted, doubtless, by com-

* Sandford : Stow ; Baker : Pol. Vergil ; Milles's Catalogue ; Toplis ; Howel ; Ridpath ; London Chron. ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Hume ; Henry ; Paston Letters.

† Stow ; Milles's Catalogue ; Lingard ; Rapin ; Paston Letters ; Hume ; Ridpath ; Baker : Henry.

‡ Sandford : Stow ; Baker ; Ridpath : Rapin ; Henry ; Hume ; Barante ; Bentley's Excerpta Historica ; Fabyan.

pulsion in favouring the Earl's party; but this conduct was afterwards severely visited with the displeasure of the King, who deprived them of their privileges, and made them pay 500 marks to recover them.*

In proof how little King Edward suspected his brother Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, when they again re-appeared in England, (supposed to have been in the month of February, 1470,) he employed them soon afterwards to levy troops against the rebels. This commission they executed, but only for their own purposes; and the forces they raised were afterwards employed to augment the army of the rebels.

1470.
Rapin;
Hume.

King Edward, meanwhile, thinking that the design of Warwick and Clarence was to fly into Ireland, issued a proclamation forbidding the Irish to obey the Duke, and commanding them to take him prisoner, as well as the Earl of Warwick, should it be in their power. As a reward for this service, he offered an annuity of £1,000, or £10,000 in ready money. He also conferred the government of Ireland upon the Earl of Worcester.

After this, King Edward proceeded to levy troops in all those counties which acknowledged his authority. In a similar manner, the Earl of Warwick and Clarence had been employed, and when they received intelligence that the King was upon his march, they united their forces with those of the rebels, and when Edward reached them he found them prepared for battle.†

The power of the Nevilles was most formidable in the north, for, as Wardens of the Marches, they had successively inherited an office which gave great influence, first to the Earl of Westmoreland, to his son

* Pennant; Hume; Lingard; Rapin; John Fordum; Scoti Chronicon.

† Ridpath; Rapin; Hume; Villaret.

Salisbury, and then to the Earl of Warwick, whose brother, John Neville, lastly succeeded, being raised to this dignity on the ruins of the Percy family. This John Neville was also, at that time, President of Yorkshire, and his brother George being Archbishop of York, the three brothers became in effect masters of the most warlike part of the kingdom. King Edward afterwards adopted the policy of reducing the great authority of these noblemen, who, although they had been his friends, were powerful enough to act against him.

1469.
Ridpath ;
Allen's
York.

Soon after the rebellion in Yorkshire, the King, to effect this object, received the fealty of Henry Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who, fighting for the Lancastrians, had fallen in the battle of Towton. From the time of this battle Henry Percy had been detained a prisoner in the Tower ; but, on his swearing fealty to the King, he was immediately liberated, and went to his residence at Leckonfield.

The gentry and people of Northumberland also petitioned King Edward to restore Henry Percy to the estates and honours of his ancestors, which, being effected, he received, in addition to the title of his ancestors, the Wardenship of the East and Middle Marches, which John Neville resigned, being promoted to the higher title of Marquis of Montague. Of these appointments Montague would never have consented to be deprived, merely for an empty title, had not other inducements been held out to gratify his ambition ; but King Edward, seeking to attach him to himself, and alienate him from his brother's interests, had previously signified his intention to unite his eldest daughter, then apparent heir to the crown, to George, the only son of the Marquis of Montague, who was male heir of all the three Nevilles,

and upon whom he conferred the dignity of Duke of Bedford.*

During the late internal commotions King Edward must have felt his crown somewhat insecure, the insurgents being numerous in those places where he had fixed his quarters. On this account, while he was at Fotheringay, being alarmed at their numbers, the Wydvilles had withdrawn from the army, and retired to their country places.

At Newark the disaffection was so great that the King fled to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he wrote to request Clarence, Warwick, and the Archbishop to hasten to him there, with their usual attendants in time of peace. To Warwick his note conveyed these significant words: "And we do not
"believe that ye should be of any such disposition
"towards us, as the rumour here runneth, considering
"the trust and affection we bear you. And, cousin,
"do not think but ye shall be to us welcome."†

1470.
Paston
Letters.

In obedience to this summons the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, and the Archbishop repaired to King Edward, whom they found at Olney, in great distress at the defeat of Pembroke and the murder of the Wydvilles, as well as the desertion of his adherents. He freely told them his suspicions and displeasure; but, though he was deceived at first by their expressions of respect, he quickly perceived his imprudence; finding himself actually in their power, he accepted their excuses, which it would not have been safe to refuse. The few who had supported him dispersed, by permission of Warwick. By his command also the insurgents withdrew to their houses, laden with booty, and King Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick as their prisoner. He was

* Ridpath; Stow; Rot. Parl.; Allen's York; Paston Letters; Lingard.

† Paston Letters; Lingard.

soon after removed, for greater security, to Middleham Castle, and entrusted to the care of the Archbishop of York.

By some writers, however, we are informed that King Edward was surprised by the Earl of Warwick in the night, and taken in his bed, at a place called Woolney, four miles from Berwick; but these authors all agree that he was conveyed to Middleham, and placed in the custody of the Archbishop.

1469.
Lingard.

England exhibited at this period the novel spectacle of two rival monarchs, each of them a prisoner, the one in the Tower of London, the other in Yorkshire.*

Thus terminated the war, for the two victorious Lords, trusting in their good fortune, disbanded their forces. They next turned their attention to affairs of government, yet they did not evince any anxiety to restore King Henry, and whatever their intentions might have been, they were unexpectedly defeated.

While in the custody of the Archbishop of York, King Edward conducted himself in so affable and obliging a manner, that he prevailed on that prelate to permit him the liberty of occasionally hunting in the park, attended by only a few persons.

Having thus far succeeded in the design he had formed, Edward next conveyed, by means of one of his keepers, a letter to two of his adherents, who dwelt in that neighbourhood, to whom he made known a means of aiding him in his release.

These gentlemen, who were delighted to serve the King in this affair, privately assembled their friends, and, lying in ambush near the park, seized the oppor-

* Sandford; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Hall; Stow; Howel; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Rapin; Baraute; Cont. Hist. Croyland.

tunity while King Edward was out on his diversion, to carry him off.

King Edward having thus regained his freedom, proceeded instantly to York. In this city he did not long remain, perhaps not confiding in its fidelity, but hastened into Lancashire, where he was joined by Lord Hastings, his High Chamberlain, with some troops. Taking a circuitous route in order to elude the Earl of Warwick, Edward went to London, where he was readily admitted by the citizens, to the great astonishment of the Earl, who, little expecting such a circumstance, had not provided for the defence of the place.* He could hardly forbear suspecting the Archbishop, his brother, of having yielded to bribery, so much was he amazed at his want of discretion; but Warwick had no time now to arraign him, being compelled to reassemble his forces with the utmost expedition, to meet the King in battle.

Edward also raised an army with great exertions. Meanwhile, some of the most pacific of the Lords attempted a mediation between the two parties; but this failed, although at first it was acceded to; and when a conference was held at Westminster, the King and his opponents, Clarence and Warwick, spent the time in mutual reproaches, tending to widen the breach between them.†

After this, King Edward allowed the Archbishop to remain at his seat, The Moor, in Hertfordshire, but left some of his own servants with him to watch him. He treated the Earl of Oxford in the same manner.

1470.
Paston
Letters.

Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and his relatives about this time landed in Devonshire, and there obtained some power.

* Stow; Baker; Hall; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Allen's York; Comines; Rot. Parl.

† Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

In the North there were also so many in arms, that Percy was unable to resist them, and King Edward purposed to assist him.

Some conferences were held at this time at Baynard's Castle, under the mediation of Cecily, Duchess of York, the King's mother, and a reconciliation was effected between King Edward, the Earl of Warwick and his party: but it proved altogether insincere.*

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick repaired to Lincoln, where they assembled their forces, under the command of Sir Robert Wells, son of Lord Wells. This family having great interest in Lincolnshire, the people readily collected under their leader, who was a man of valour and experience, and as they sought to arouse the gentry and people to join their standard, they everywhere proclaimed "King Henry!"

On being informed that Sir Robert Wells had taken up arms against him, King Edward sent an express to Lord Wells to appear at Court immediately, intending to compel him to use his influence with his son to induce him to abandon the rebels. Lord Wells, however, having reached London, learnt that the King was greatly enraged against his son, and fearing to meet him, took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey; but when King Edward sent him a safe conduct he immediately appeared before him, and, in compliance with this monarch's wishes, he wrote to his son to prevail on him to desert the Earl of Warwick and dismiss his followers. Young Wells refused to obey these commands, which so much incensed the King that he ordered Lord Wells to be beheaded, together with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Dymock, who had accompanied him.† A summons was then sent to Sir

* Lingard ; Paston Letters ; Stow.

† Stow ; Baker ; Howel ; Pol. Vergil ; Lingard ; Henry ; Rapin ; Fabyan ; Hume.

Robert Wells, from whom the King received the indignant reply "that he never would trust the perfidy of the man who had murdered his parent."

It has been alleged, in excuse for King Edward's cruelty, that he suspected these noblemen of conniving at the proceedings of his enemies; nor was he mistaken, for these unfortunate persons acknowledged, in their last moments, that they had been encouraged in their rebellion by Clarence and Warwick.

This act of cruelty was, nevertheless, very injurious to the reputation of King Edward.*

Young Wells, when he heard the news of his father's death, was inspired with so violent a thirst for revenge that it occasioned his ruin, and was of great prejudice to the Earl of Warwick.

Sir Robert Wells was encamped near Stamford, whither the King's troops had advanced, with intent to come to an engagement before Clarence and Warwick could bring him succour. Wells would have withdrawn to Stamford, but his impatience to revenge his father's death, made him run all hazards rather than retreat. He fought with great valour while supported by his followers, 30,000 in number, and at length, finding himself defeated, he urged his enemies to take his life, but this they refused to do, reserving him for an ignominious death, a few days after, on the scaffold. Lord Willoughby was also beheaded at Doncaster, and several knights and gentlemen were put to the most barbarous and ignominious death by command of Lord Worcester, who was High Constable at this time.

This battle, which took place on the 13th of March, 1470, was fought at Ernpyngham, in a field called "Horne Felde," about five miles north-west of Stam-

1470.
Baker :
Toplis ;
Stow ;
Howel :

* Lingard ; Rapin ; Henry.

Hume;
Paston
Letters;
Henry;
Lingard.

ford, near the road to York, and it still retains the name of "Bloody Oaks." Some of the Lancastrians, when flying from the field, threw off their coats, that they might not be encumbered by their weight in their flight; and this occurred in a field which, from this circumstance, has, by tradition, been erroneously considered as the place of the engagement, and thence this was called the battle of "Loose-coat-field."* The victory was decisive for King Edward, and 10,000 of his enemies were slain.†

1470.

The King was prevented by want of provisions from following after Warwick and Clarence, who, with their adherents, had gone to Manchester, to solicit the aid of Lord Stanley, who had married the sister of Warwick.

A proclamation was now issued by King Edward against the rebellious party, enumerating their offences, and exhorting them to return to their duty within a certain time.

The King assured them, that, if they would vindicate themselves he would admit their justification with pleasure; and if not, he should still remember that they were allied to him by blood, and had been once numbered amongst his dearest friends.

The measures of Clarence and Warwick had been interrupted by the defeat at Ernpyngham, and they were hardly prepared to meet the King, when he might be on the road to attack them. They found that they had no alternative but to screen themselves by flight, and accordingly they proceeded rapidly to Exeter, taking with them the Countess of Warwick

* This field, called "Loosecoat Field," was between Stamford and Little Casterton: perhaps they were here closely pursued by the enemy. This battle is sometimes called the battle of Stamford.

† Sandford; Toplis; Baker; Stow; Howel; Blore's Rutland; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; London Chron.; Paston Letters; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Rapin.

and her two daughters. Here they arrived on the 3rd of April, 1470, but only stayed while shipping was provided for them, when they embarked at Dartmouth, and sailed to Calais.

1470.

Meanwhile, King Edward, with all speed, had mustered his forces, consisting of 40,000 men, and followed to the city of Exeter, which he reached on the 14th of April, but too late to overtake his adversaries. He had with him the Bishop of Ely, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Arundell, Wiltshire, Worcester, and Shrewsbury, Lord Hastings and others. The Mayor and four hundred citizens gave the King a most gracious reception; clad in red gowns (the city livery), they assembled at the south gate, awaiting his arrival. The Recorder, in a humble oration, congratulated his coming; the Mayor, yielding the keys of the gates and mace of his office, with them presented a purse of one hundred nobles in gold, which was thankfully accepted by Edward, who restored the keys and mace. The Mayor then, bare-headed, bore the mace through the city, as he conducted his sovereign to his lodging. King Edward on the next day, being Palm Sunday, attended divine service in the church of St. Peter, and afterwards went in procession, according to the custom of the day, round the churchyard, "to the great joy and comfort of all the people." Three days after King Edward returned to London.

The Earl of Warwick's design was to return to Calais, where he had left Vaucleir, deputy Lieutenant, in his absence. He trusted much in the fidelity of this person; but what was his astonishment when, upon his approach to Calais, he was fired upon from that town!

He sought to move Vaucleir by representing the situation of the Duchess of Clarence, who had just given birth to a son; but, in return, Warwick could

only procure from him some wine for the relief of his daughter. This was sent by a trusty messenger, who informed the Earl, that Vaucleir was still attached to his service, but was compelled to act thus, because had he permitted the Earl to enter Calais, he would not have been safe there ; and he added, also, assurances of his future fidelity.

King Edward, being ignorant of the motives for this conduct, was so gratified by it, that he made Vaucleir Governor of Calais, and the Duke of Burgundy voluntarily added the annual pension of 1000 crowns.

Thus repulsed at Calais, the Earl and his party landed at Dieppe, and proceeded to Honfleur, in Normandy, where they were kindly and hospitably received by the French Admiral, the bastard of Bourbon, who provided good accommodation for the ladies and their attendants at Valongis, and conducted the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the court of Louis, at Amboise, where the French King gave them a cordial reception.*

Louis XI. had beheld with a jealous eye the strict alliance formed between King Edward and the Duke of Burgundy ; he also still harboured the desire of revenging the affront he had received in the affair of King Edward's marriage, and he now found it would be to his interest to oppose both these powers. He was likewise offended at the assistance given by the English monarch to the Duke of Brittany, and he feared that, should the former remain on the throne, his protection would be readily procured by the French Princes, whom he was anxious to subjugate. These

* Philip de Comines ; Paston Letters ; Rymer ; Baker ; Monfaucon ; Rot. Parl. ; Henry ; Monstrelet ; London Chron. ; Pol. Vergil ; Hume ; Holinshed ; Villaret ; Jean de Troye ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Chastellain ; Barante.

various motives induced Louis, not only to treat the English nobles with civility, but also to promise them his assistance in rekindling the civil war in England. It is not improbable that he might even have previously concerted measures with Warwick for that purpose, especially as he hoped that, by raising fresh troubles in England, he might prevent Edward's interfering in his affairs.

It was no easy task which the King of France had at this time undertaken. His object was to effect a reconciliation between two of the most bitter enemies that perhaps ever existed, namely, Queen Margaret of Anjou, and the Earl of Warwick.

The Earl regarded Margaret as his mortal foe ; yet this Queen had even more just cause for resentment, since she might attribute to Warwick her greatest misfortunes.

Queen Margaret had been residing for some time with her father, the King of Sicily, at Angers, having her son with her, when the messenger of Louis XI. arrived, with orders, to conduct King René, his daughter, Queen Margaret, and her son, Prince Edward, to the court at Amboise.* The summons was readily obeyed. The King of France sought to induce Queen Margaret to comply with the terms of the Earl of Warwick, but great was his astonishment to find she objected firmly, even to the very first article.

Margaret of Anjou was unfortunate, an exile, and beheld all her hopes blighted ; yet was she high-minded, resolute, and resentful. She had been dethroned by the Earl of Warwick, and could not forgive him or feel confidence in him, neither could she suffer herself to be governed by him.

Three conditions were required by the Earl. First,

* Stow ; Baker : Pol. Vergil ; Jean de Troye ; Sharon Turner : Lingard ; Henry ; Monfaucon ; Chastellain ; Monstrelet ; Barante ; Villaret.

1470.
Henry ;
Monstrelet.

a complete pardon from the Queen and her son; secondly, that Prince Edward should marry his younger daughter, Anne; and thirdly, that she should send a strong army to England to support her rights.

To the first point the Queen made reply to the King, in the presence of the Duke of Guienne and many others, that she could not, consistently with her own and her son's honour, pardon the man who had been the chief cause of the downfall of the King, her husband, herself, and her son, and that, from her heart, she could never forgive him, or be reconciled to him.

She declared that it would be prejudicial to their interests to join with the Earl, having many adherents who would desert her, should she enter into such a treaty, which might cause more hindrance to their cause than the union of the Earl and his followers might advantage them; wherefore she entreated the King to desist from urging this alliance.

This refusal, although dictated by resentment, was dignified and consistent. Never did Queen Margaret upon her throne exhibit the lofty superiority of her character so much as she did in rejecting these proposals of the Earl of Warwick.

When the Queen's disdainful answers were conveyed to the mortified Earl, he acknowledged that he had deserved them; but in excuse he said, that King Henry and his Queen, influenced by evil counsels, had sought his destruction and that of his party, without cause; he urged that, by their ill-treatment of him, they had furnished him with sufficient motive to labour for their injury; and finally, he justified his conduct as being that of an injured and persecuted nobleman. He acknowledged that he had been the means of placing King Edward upon the throne, but that his treatment

of him had been such that he would now, with all his might, labour for his dethronement and banishment; and then, beseeching the Queen and Prince to believe him and forgive him that which in time past he had done against them, he offered himself to be bound to be their true and faithful subject in time to come, and required of Louis to be his surety] for the fulfilment of this promise.

To this the King of France readily agreed, and he also "prayed the Queen at his request to pardon the "Earl of Warwick," representing to her "the great "love which he had unto him," and "that he was more "bound and beholden to this Earl than to any other "man, and therefore would do as much and more for "him than for any man living." After the Queen had been thus required by the King, many were the treaties and interviews which took place with her relatives, and the servants of her father, King René; yet Margaret continued to resist these importunities. She could not forget the wrongs she had experienced from this Earl, who now sought her friendship. She could only think of him as the Earl of Warwick who had deprived her husband of his throne, and exalted his own friend, the Yorkist, to the regal power. She dwelt on his personal treatment of her beloved lord, the meek King Henry, with such insult and contempt at the time when he conducted him to the Tower of London, where he had since remained a prisoner. Then, again, the Queen remembered that when flying from England with her beloved son, she had to endure all the obloquy cast upon the birth of this child by the same Earl of Warwick, who, from some political motive, chose to declare, in the most public manner, that he was not the King's son, and thus traduced the character of Margaret herself.

At length, through the united persuasions of her

father's friends and others, the Queen yielded a reluctant consent to the request of Louis; but this was conditionally, that Warwick should publicly, before kings and princes, declare that he had sworn falsely and injuriously of her person, and that he should do the same in England and also before all the people, all which the Earl of Warwick promised to fulfil. Then the Earl came to Queen Margaret, and falling on his knees before her, said all that could touch her, and prayed humbly for her mercy and pardon. To all this the Queen would scarcely reply, although the proud Earl knelt to her a quarter of an hour; but at last she pardoned him, as did her son also. After that, they pardoned also the Earl of Oxford, who came with Warwick; and the Queen said to him, "that his pardon was easy to purchase, for she well knew how he and his friend had suffered for King Henry's quarrels." Finally, it was agreed that Warwick should go to England, taking with him supplies from France.

Queen Margaret still continued resolute in refusing her consent to the projected marriage, saying that it was neither honourable nor profitable, for herself, nor for the young prince her son. Again, she would assert that she could, if she desired it, find another alliance more advantageous, showing the King of France a letter she had but just received from England, in which "my lady the princess," the daughter of King Edward, was offered to her son. Thus, during fifteen days King Louis perseveringly supported the Earl of Warwick, while the haughty Queen endured a severe conflict. At last, overcome by the importunities of all around her, she gave a qualified consent to the marriage, but required the throne to be Anne's dower.

It was finally determined that this lady should be placed under the care of Queen Margaret, and that the

marriage should not be completed until the Earl had with a large army invaded England, and had restored King Henry to the throne.

The Earl of Warwick assured the King of France that he had letters from England promising him that when he landed he would have ready for his service an army of 50,000 men. He required only a few troops, ships, and money of the French King; and he proved that he was, by his own means, providing 2,000 French archers, and provisions for 66,000 men. Astonishing as this appears at first, it will seem less surprising and improbable, when we consider how much the Earl of Warwick had always been the favourite of the people. Every popular ballad contained his praises, every pageant or public exhibition made allusion to his virtues and misfortunes, and his exile had made him even more idolized than before; nay, it was "as if "the populace had lost their sun, when he was "absent."

When the Earl of Warwick first resolved to dethrone King Edward, it was not his intention to restore his rival, but to place the Duke of Clarence on the throne. He found this plan, however, to be impracticable, being equally opposed to the interests of the Yorkists and of the Lancastrians; he therefore adopted the suggestion of Louis XI., and determined to restore King Henry, in which project all parties would be disposed to render him assistance. The hatred which had rankled in the breast of Warwick against King Edward, with the indignities he had received from him, added to his present unfortunate situation, obliterated the remembrance of the injuries he had previously experienced from the Lancastrians, and especially from Queen Margaret, by whose orders his father had been executed. Finding therefore the need of a plausible pretext for the dethronement of Edward, no other offered so effective as

1470.

the restoration of Henry ; but in this enterprise the Queen's assistance appeared to the Earl to be essentially requisite, and it became their mutual interest to lay aside their animosity. The joy of Louis was great in the success of his endeavours to reconcile these two mortal foes, and in the prospect of restoring the Lancastrian dynasty. This monarch had also another cause for infinite satisfaction in the birth of an heir to his throne, which he had earnestly desired. It was during the stay of Queen Margaret at Amboise that the Queen of France gave birth to a son. This infant was born on the 30th of June, 1470, at the castle of Amboise, and received the name of Charles when baptized by the Archbishop of Lyons, who was his godfather. The other sponsor was Edward, Prince of Wales, and the godmother was the Duchess of Bourbon. Queen Margaret also was present at this ceremony, which was succeeded by public fêtes, prolonged to commemorate the arrival of the royal infant.*

After this, the noble company who had been assembled by the King of France at Amboise to meet the Earl of Warwick and others, all repaired to Angers, to complete the contract entered into. In this fine city, the birthplace of King René, the English exiles were joyfully welcomed by the inhabitants, who rejoiced at the prospect that the daughter of their sovereign would be again restored to her kingdom. "They provided them all right willingly," says Bourdigné, "the choicest wines, the rarest meats, and every delightful pastime; so that the English were well content, and thought no place in the world like Angers." Here they seem to have stayed some time; and while they tarried, the Earl of Warwick took oath upon the cross, in St. Mary's church in Angers, that he would faithfully hold to the party and quarrel of King Henry,

* Jean de Troye ; Monstrelet ; Monfaucon.

and as a true and loyal subject serve him, the Queen, and the prince. Also, "the King of France and his "brother, clothed in canon's robes in the said church "of St. Mary, sware that they would help, bear and "sustain to their power, the said Earl of Warwick holding the said quarrel of Henry. After this, the said "Queen sware, and promised from henceforth to treat "the said Earl as true and faithful to King Henry "here, and the prince, and for the deeds passed never "hereafter to make him reproach."

Many other points were also at this time spoken of relating to the treaty of marriage, and finally all the parties agreed to these terms; viz., that the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence should endeavour to their utmost to restore King Henry to the throne; that Queen Margaret should engage by oath to permit them to conduct the affairs of government during the King's lifetime; and that the same arrangement should continue during the minority of the prince, his son, should Henry die before he came of age; lastly, to confirm this, that the Prince of Wales should be married to Anne, the younger daughter of the Earl of Warwick. This alliance was required by the Earl in the month of July, 1470, and at that time refused by Margaret; and it has been doubted by many, that the marriage took place before Warwick left France. In the month of August, however, the Queen gave her consent to this union, as an additional contract only, and not for its solemnization; indeed, there is no contemporary account of its celebration at Angers, where most historians assert that it actually took place immediately. If this were the case, we may infer that the scruples of the Queen were at last overcome, and that she deemed the marriage to be expedient under her adverse circumstances.

There appears to be much presumptive evidence in

1470.

the absence of the records of this marriage to prove, that it really was celebrated at Angers. The presence in this city of the royal family of France, together with the relatives of Queen Margaret, the engagement of the Duke of Guienne to aid the Lancastrian cause, and his approval of the marriage of Prince Edward to the daughter of the Earl, which was signed by the Duke on the 30th of July, 1470,* seem to point to this union as called for and urgent, because confirming the compact entered into by all parties. The Earl of Warwick did not quit France until the autumn, and on the 6th of October released King Henry from his prison and replaced him on the throne. Perhaps the Earl tarried at Angers to witness the espousals to which the Queen still felt so repugnant: it might possibly be that Warwick had his private opinion or hope of one day seeing his daughter with the prince mount the throne, and therefore the marriage must be completed.

1470.
Cont. Hist.
Oroyland.

By this union the Duke of Clarence became the brother-in-law of Prince Edward, and the Earl of Warwick equally allied to the Houses of York and Lancaster. We are told by some writers, that “after “these nuptials Clarence and Warwick took a solemn “oath never to cease from war until King Henry or “his son should be established on the throne. In like “manner, all the adherents of this party professed, “and engaged, speedily and faithfully to observe and “execute the compact of their leaders. Then was “confidence and satisfaction restored to all, being “confirmed to future ages by the marriage of the prince “and the Lady Anne.”

In this contract made at Angers, it was resolved also that should the young prince die without heirs the crown should devolve on the Duke of Clarence. A perpetual alliance was likewise made between Eng-

* This document is still preserved in the British Museum.

land and France, and a league offensive which should last until the subjugation of the House of Burgundy.*

The new arrangements were not satisfactory to the Duke of Clarence, who was secretly discontented; nor was his Duchess better pleased, having the expectation of beholding her younger sister advanced to the throne, while she would thus remain only a subject.

King Edward received information of the league which had been formed against him, from the Duke of Burgundy; but believing that Warwick had fled for want of friends to support him, he did not think that he could so suddenly rise into favour, neither did he concern himself about the preparations which they were making in France. Relying on the affections of his people, and neglecting affairs of importance, he resigned himself to effeminate and voluptuous pleasures. He could not, however, help feeling uneasy at beholding his brother, the Duke of Clarence, united with his enemies, and fearing it might in time produce fatal consequences, he endeavoured to wean him back to his former allegiance.

For this purpose he gave instructions to one of the women belonging to the Duchess of Clarence, whom he bribed to act this part, and giving her a passport, dismissed her to her mistress. This woman acted with much address, and, fortunately for King Edward, she was successful. When she reached her mistress, she conveyed to the Duke of Clarence the sentiments of the King, his brother, viz., that he would inevitably involve himself in ruin by the step he had just taken; that, even should the Earl of Warwick succeed in his designs, it could not be expected that the Lancastrians

* Chastellain; Cont. Hist. Croyland; Stow; Hall; Baker; Toplis; Pol Vergil; Jean de Troye; Milles's Catalogue; Comines; Baudier; Daniel; Paston Letters; Rapin; Monfaucon; Villaret; Monstrelet; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner.

would trust a prince of the House of York, when they should perceive that he was no longer useful. That his life would not be safe; that he ought not to rely on the oath of the Queen, which might be only intended to ensnare him. That he might expect to be oppressed by Warwick, who would wish to despatch him, not liking an associate in the government, and expecting that he might one day seek to revenge the injuries done to his family; also, that the King had but one daughter, who was very young, and in case of her death, he would inherit the crown; but should the House of Lancaster be restored, he would lose that prospect, as Prince Edward might have many children. Other arguments were added, with assurances of affection, and of future kindness from King Edward. Clarence was won over by this reasoning, and perceived the folly of his conduct. He bade the woman inform his brother that he would declare for him, on the first opportunity for doing so with safety, and of thereby rendering him any service.*

Having received this reply, King Edward made himself quite easy, believing that the Earl of Warwick would attempt nothing without the aid of his son-in-law; but while he thus amused himself in fancied security, Warwick was making very great preparations for a descent upon England. To forward this enterprise the King of France had supplied him with money and troops, and, as an old author expresses it, "René also "helped the same what he might."

All the Lancastrian adherents and friends were informed of the Earl's project, and he could not doubt of being joined by a strong party when he should arrive upon the English coast.† His attempt was difficult.

* Baker; Stow; Rapin; Lingard; Philip de Comines; Daniel; Henry; Hume.

† Pol. Vergil; Comines; Rapin; Monstrelet; Lingard.

The fleet of the Duke of Burgundy lay at the mouth of the Seine, prepared to engage the French whenever they set sail. Louis had appointed the Bastard of Bourbon to convey the Earl of Warwick with some ships of war; but as these could not encounter a much larger force, the Earl repaired to Havre de Grace to watch an opportunity for embarking. Shortly after a great storm dispersed the Flemish ships, and compelled them to seek for shelter in their harbours. Warwick and Clarence then set sail, and safely arrived at Dartmouth in Devonshire; from which place they had departed for France, four or five months before. Besides these two chiefs, there were of this party, the Earl of Oxford, Fauconbridge, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and others, some of whom landed at Plymouth.

When the Earl of Warwick reached England he immediately dismissed a body of his partisans two miles up the country to seize an English baron, who was peaceably asleep in his bed, and quite unsuspecting the new invasion. He was brought into the presence of Warwick, who commanded that he should be instantly decapitated. Such was the summary vengeance of these times.*

King Edward, far from being alarmed at the arrival of his enemies, evinced much satisfaction, not dreaming of the Earl's success. He fancied that he had now come to put himself into his power; and under this impression requested the Duke of Burgundy to guard the seas, that he might not again escape to France.

Warwick, however, had no sooner landed than he beheld himself at the head of an army of 60,000 men. From Dartmouth he advanced to Bristol, where he met with a favourable reception, for it was at this place,

1170.

* Stow; Baker; Howel; Lond. Chron.; Hall; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Rot. Parl.; Rymer; Fabian; Pol. Vergil; Monfaucon; Monstrelet; Comines; Jean de Troye; Chastellain; Buchan; Hume; Henry; Lingard.

that he had left his baggage and artillery when he fled into Normandy.

As the Earl proceeded, he caused Henry VI. to be proclaimed, and in his name gave orders for all his subjects from sixteen to sixty to arm themselves, to expel the usurper Edward. Numbers were ready to obey the summons, and the claims of King Henry seemed again about to be recognised.

One Dr. Goddard, a chaplain, had ventured, on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, to preach at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and to assert, that King Henry VI. was the lawful monarch of England, which moved many of his auditors to favour the Lancastrians.

King Edward was, at length, aroused from his dream of enjoyment by this very unexpected turn of affairs; and he gave orders for his troops to be assembled, appointing their rendezvous at Nottingham. Soon afterwards, news was brought to him that the Marquis of Montague, who commanded for him in the north, had revolted to the Lancastrians, with 6,000 followers. He had advanced almost to Nottingham, and then, alleging King Edward's ingratitude to his friends, he withdrew and joined in the cry of "King Henry! King Henry! a Warwick! a Warwick!"

This defection gave King Edward great uneasiness, as he feared that it would be followed by that of others; and scarce knowing who were his real friends he sought to retire, and to avoid an engagement. He encamped near Lynn, in Lincolnshire, by the sea-shore, and lodged himself in the castle. He had with him the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Scales, and Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain, who had married the sister of the Earl of Warwick, yet adhered to King Edward.

Warwick approached within three miles of the place

where the King had encamped, making the air resound with shouts of "King Henry! King Henry!" which, being re-echoed by some means in Edward's camp, caused that monarch to close the gates of the castle, and to hold a council to determine how he should proceed; but before he could resolve, the acclamations became louder and louder, and he perceived no alternative but to embark in haste, with only four or five hundred* men, in three vessels, which had been employed to bring his troops provisions. Lord Hastings guarded the rear while they embarked, in order to provide against any attempt to arrest them in their flight. In this melancholy situation, King Edward gave orders to sail to Holland, thinking he could best obtain protection from the House of Burgundy. King Edward and the few Lords who attended him, but seven or eight in number, amongst whom were Lords Hastings and Say, had all departed in such haste, that they were unprovided with provisions, and apparel, except what they had on; and so little money had they, that the King could only reward the master of his vessel with one of his own garments, a gown lined with martins. While crossing the seas, the ships narrowly escaped being boarded by pirates, who were only restrained by the authority of Lord Gruthyse, Governor of Holland, who, by chance, being at Almar, waited upon the King, and defended him, also showing him all the respect due to his rank, he conducted him to the Hague. Such was Edward's precipitate flight, who, by his presumption and inactivity, lost his crown, without even hazarding a battle to preserve it.†

When Edward's Queen, who had remained in the

* Some say he had 800.

† Baker; Hall; Stow; Howel; Pennant; Sandford; Cont. Croyland; Comines; Barante; Jean de Troye; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Paston Letters; Chastellain; Fabyan; Monstrelet; Lingard; Allen's York; Hume; Henry; Villaret.

1470.
Paston
Letters.

Tower, with her children and the Duchess of Bedford, found that the tide of loyalty had turned to King Henry, she secretly fled by night, taking with her her mother and three daughters, to the Sanctuary of Westminster. Here also took refuge with their Queen, those Yorkists who were in London.* It was under these melancholy auspices that Elizabeth gave birth to a son, the heir of King Edward's throne. This child of adversity had for his godfathers the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the Lady Scroop for his godmother.

Some writers affirm that there were 500 Yorkists in the Tower, and that all the great and powerful inhabitants of the metropolis favoured King Edward, but when they found this monarch did not come to their assistance, they took part with the Earl of Warwick. From this time every one assumed the badge of this Earl, "the bear and ragged staff," and no one dared to appear wearing the rose.†

1470.
Stow;
Lingard.

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence triumphantly pursued their way to London, and in like manner entered this city on the 6th‡ of October, 1470. They proceeded to the Tower, attended by many lords, and also by the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Lee, with the Aldermen, followed by a great concourse of people. The Earl of Warwick entered the Tower, and released King Henry, who had been detained there a prisoner many years, and restored him to his regal dignity. Warwick first showed this monarch to the people, then threw himself upon his knees before him, confessing his fault, in having offended so good a

Rapin;
Henry.

* The Bishop of Ely and other Bishops fled to St. Martin's; other sanctuaries were likewise full of Edward's party.

† Baker: Chastellain; Holinshed; Henry; Stow; Paston Letters; Sandford; Bayley's Hist. of the Tower; Fleetwood's Chron.

‡ Some date this on the 1st October, others on the 23rd: Stow places the event in 1467.

King, and asking pardon of God, and of the English people.

The latter, who were still attached to Henry, set up a shout of joy. King Henry was then conducted to the Bishop's palace, where he remained : and a pompous court was held there until the 13th of October, on which day he walked in solemn procession to St. Paul's, wearing his crown, and appareled in a long gown of blue velvet, the Earl of Warwick bearing up his train, and the Earl of Oxford carrying the sword before him, while the people cried, "God save King Henry !" In the cathedral the confederate lords took their oath of allegiance to their King. Henry VI. was then solemnly proclaimed, and King Edward denounced as an usurper, and his goods confiscated, and his adherents as traitors to God and their King.

In London great rejoicings were made upon this sudden change in the restoration of Henry, and the Earl of Warwick sent all the French prisoners home free of ransom. The King's friends considered that his restoration to the throne was the undoubted interposition of heaven.*

Thus it was that Warwick, who had raised King Edward to the throne, and upon a slight quarrel had effected his downfall, now replaced King Henry in that dignity from which he had before been the means of deposing him. From these circumstances the Earl of Warwick was called the "King Maker," a title which he ever after retained. In all these acts, from his manner of doing them, he obtained more and more popularity with the people. Amongst foreign nations this remarkable revolution of events excited wonder or ridicule. To Henry himself it may be doubtful if it

* Stow's Survey ; Baker ; Cont. Croyland ; Monfaucon ; Holinshed ; Sandford ; Female Worthies ; Jean de Troye ; Barante ; Lingard ; Bayley's Tower of London ; Maitland's London.

caused joy or sorrow ; and it is probable that the Earl of Warwick rejoiced more than he did. Certain it is, that Henry of Lancaster only exchanged the condition of a captive to Edward, to become the slave of Warwick.*

* Stow ; Sandford ; Howel ; Baker ; Pol. Vergil ; John Rous ; Paston Letters ; S. Turner ; Allen's York ; Chastellain ; Barante ; Monfaucon ; Comines ; Jean de Troye ; Rapin ; Henry ; Lingard.

CHAPTER VI.

(*Clarence.*)

“ And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,
“ And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks ! ”

SHAKESPEARE.

(*King Edward.*)

“ Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance
“ Of thee thyself, and all thy complices,
“ Edward will always bear himself as king :
“ Though fortune’s malice overthrow my state,
“ My mind exceeds the compass of her wheels,”

SHAKESPEARE.

Rejoicings in France—Queen Margaret’s reception in Paris—Discontent of the Duke of Burgundy—He sends for Vauclier—King Edward at the Hague—Parliament called by Warwick—King Edward and his party attainted—Alderman Cooke restored—Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, beheaded—The Grand Prior of St. John’s sent to France to fetch over the Queen—Warwick waiting at Dover to receive her—Affairs in France—The League “ du bien public ”—René’s conduct—John of Anjou—His wars in Spain—His death—René’s letters—His genius, paintings, writings in prose and verse—His good nature—The love of his people and rule over them—Improvements in the arts—His personal appearance and institutions, la Pelotte, &c.—Duke of Burgundy’s policy—Affairs in England—King Edward returns to England—He goes to York—Is joined by Clarence—Warwick prepares to oppose King Edward—Restoration of Edward—His affability—Henry the Sixth is sent to the Tower.

QUEEN MARGARET beheld with extreme delight the return of good fortune to her “ House ” ; her husband again restored to liberty and to his throne, and the cloud which had overshadowed the destiny of her son, suddenly dispersed. The news of the success of her party was first conveyed to her by the Earl of War-

wick, and the assurance of King Henry's freedom by letters from himself.*

So strange and so rapid was this revolution that any one might have been called mad, who had asserted a fortnight before, that King Edward would be so soon expelled his kingdom by the power of Warwick, yet in the short period of eleven days, this Earl obtained possession of the kingdom.†

1470.
Henry ;
Monstrelet.

When Louis XI. received the intelligence of the restoration of Henry from the Earl of Warwick, his joy was so great that he commanded feasts and rejoicings throughout his kingdom ; also general processions of all the principal clergy and laity for three days in Paris, and in all the large towns of France, to render thanks to God and the Virgin Mary for having restored Henry of Lancaster, a prince of the blood of France, to the English throne, and for the expulsion of their great enemy, King Edward. Amidst these great rejoicings and feasting, messages were passing continually between Louis and the Earl of Warwick for their mutual encouragement.

The French King had a mortal enmity against the Duke of Burgundy, and Warwick was no less his enemy, on account of his union with Edward. This Earl therefore immediately caused a proclamation of war to be made at Calais against Burgundy ; whilst Louis XI. at the same time dismissed a splendid embassy to London, to compliment the English monarch upon his release from prison, and restoration to the throne ; likewise to conclude a treaty of peace for fifteen years between the two kingdoms. This peace was proclaimed throughout France, and also war declared against King Edward and all his adherents.‡

* Baudier ; Hays's Biography.

† Philip de Comines ; Jean de Troye ; Baudier.

‡ Chastellain ; Monstrelet ; Henry ; Lingard ; Sharon Turner ; Philip de Comines ; Jean de Troye.

The exiled Queen Margaret, who had for several years been living in retirement, neglected and almost forgotten, was now conducted to Paris, with her son, his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, the Countess of Warwick, her mother, Lady Wiltshire and several other English ladies. They were attended by the Counts d'Eu, de Vendosme, de Dunois, Monsieur de Chastillon, and other noblemen and persons of distinction. By the King's command the Bishop, University, Court of Parliament, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Paris, in their robes and formalities, and also numerous bodies of the principal inhabitants, handsomely dressed, advanced to meet the royal cavalcade, and in the name of their sovereign they complimented Queen Margaret. The same distinctions were conferred upon the Queen also, when welcomed in Paris, as were usually bestowed on a Queen of France; and amidst the most splendid and expensive rejoicings which could be exhibited, she was finally conveyed to the palace, where apartments, handsomely decorated, had been prepared for her reception.* How flattering this entrée into the capital of France must have been to the pride of the once portionless daughter of René!

Some write that the Queen remained in Paris during the winter, and early in the spring set out for England, but was detained by contrary winds.† Others again tell us that immediately Queen Margaret learnt from King Henry of the success of the Lancastrian party in England, she, with the Prince her son and all her train, entered their ships to proceed to England, but the sharp winter and stormy weather drove them back to land, and obliged her to defer this passage.

* Jean de Troye; Henry; Philip de Comines; Lingard; Female Worthies; Villaret.

† Miss Lawrence; Holinshed.

Whilst Louis XI. and the people of France were indulging the utmost joy upon the sudden revolution in the affairs of England, considerable uneasiness was manifested in the court of Burgundy. Duke Charles was full of consternation; having engaged in war with France, he was now apprehending an attack on the side of England. To prevent this, he despatched Philip de Comines to the Governor of Calais, whom he believed to be on his side; but before the arrival of this messenger, Vaucier had hoisted the ensigns of the Earl of Warwick, and had protested against Burgundy. This change was so sudden that within a quarter of an hour after the express had arrived from England, with the news of King Edward's flight, the whole town had adopted the new livery. Many compliments were paid by Vaucier to his guest, and some excuses for his master, the Earl of Warwick, who, he said, had shown him numerous favours and civilities. The only advantage which the Duke of Burgundy obtained through this embassy, was the prevention of an immediate rupture.

King Edward, meanwhile, was remaining at the Hague in a somewhat unhappy position, until his brother-in-law should be made acquainted with his distress. It was not to be expected that this news could have given the Duke any great satisfaction; indeed, it threw him into much perplexity, and an eyewitness even assures us that he would have been less disturbed, had he heard of Edward's death.*

1470.
Rapin.

Henry the Sixth, although restored to the throne through the exertions of the Earl of Warwick and the Lancastrian party, did not obtain that authority in the kingdom which he had formerly enjoyed.

In pursuance of the agreement entered into between Queen Margaret, the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke

* Lingard; Philip de Comines; Hume; Henry.

of Clarence, these noblemen were declared governors of the kingdom. A parliament was convened by them in the name of King Henry, to meet on the 12th of November, at Westminster, in which the new form of government was confirmed, and King Edward declared an usurper and a traitor, and his estates confiscated. All his adherents were also declared traitors and their property likewise confiscated. The Duke of Clarence was adjudged heir of the Duke of York, whose duchy was settled on him and his descendants, setting aside the right of his elder brother. All the statutes made in King Edward's reign were annulled, and the crown confirmed to Henry and his heirs ; but, in the event of this monarch dying without any heir, the Duke of Clarence was appointed to succeed him, to the exclusion of Edward, his brother, on account of his rebellion.

The Lords who had suffered for the Lancastrian cause were restored to their titles and property. These were Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had been attainted in the reign of Edward. The Marquis of Montague came also to this Parliament, pleading, in excuse for his siding with King Edward, that he had done so through the fear of death. His excuse was accepted, and he was restored to the government of the northern counties, an office of which he had been deprived by Edward, who had bestowed it on the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Clarence was made Lieutenant of Ireland, and received also other grants. Warwick re-assumed his office of Chamberlain of England and Captain of Calais, to which was added that of Lord High Admiral. His brother, the Archbishop, was once more entrusted with the seals, and, having obtained Warwick's forgiveness for allowing the escape of King Edward, he obtained a grant of Woodstock Park and of many other manors, as well

as the confiscated estates of some persons condemned for the late rebellion.

Warwick and Clarence were made Governors of the King, as well as of the kingdom.

The members of this Parliament did not hesitate, out of complacence to the Earl of Warwick, to establish a kind of Salic law in England, for, by the arrangement now entered into, the female line of the House of Lancaster was totally excluded from the succession to the throne.

The restoration of Henry VI. brought again into favour the ill-treated Alderman Cooke, who was appointed *locum tenens* to the Lord Mayor, John Stockton, who, being a zealous partisan of King Edward, found it dangerous to make known his sentiments, and being unwilling to join in the rejoicings for King Henry, feigned illness, and the Earl of Warwick called upon Sir Thomas Cooke to fill his office. The estates of Cooke were at this time restored to him.

It may be said to the praise of the Lancastrians, that, while as conquerors they were amply providing for themselves, they did not stain their conquests with blood, for the only person put to death on the restoration of Henry VI. was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, made Governor of Ireland by King Edward, and High Constable of England, and whose cruelties in this last office had procured him from the populace, the title of "the butcher." He was taken in Weybridge forest, Huntingdonshire, attempting to conceal himself in a tree, having absconded on the departure of his master, King Edward.

When brought to London he was attainted on a charge of cruelty, and having been beheaded on Tower Hill the 18th October, 1470, was afterwards buried at Blackfriars. Such was the general detestation in which the High Constable was held that, it is added,

he laid one night in the Flete, lest the people should tear him in pieces.

The Earl of Warwick was now occupied in the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom. He signed the treaty with Louis XI., and dismissed the Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to France, on the 16th February, to fetch over Queen Margaret, the Prince, her son, and others, and to urge their speedy return to England. This messenger employed by the Earl was Sir John Longstrother, bailiff of the Eagle, and seneschal of the Reverend the High Master of Rhodes. He had been elected Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, in the previous year, 1469, and had sworn fealty to King Edward on the 18th of November.

Again he took this oath, to King Henry after his restoration, on the 20th of October, 1470, and was the same day made Treasurer of the Exchequer. He was a devoted Lancastrian, and when appointed to conduct the Queen and Prince from France into England, he had a grant from King Henry of 200 marks "of his gifte" and "by way of rewarde for his "costs and expences in that behalve."* The Prior, however, although he was first and chief Baron of this land, was not able to procure the speedy re-appearance of King Henry's consort, to aid the potent Earl of Warwick, who, finding delay in the arrival of Margaret, became impatient, and rode to Dover to receive her; but he tarried there a long time in vain, and then returned with vexation, at a circumstance which appeared so unaccountable.†

* On the 28th of the same month he was, conjunctly with John Delves, Esq., appointed warden of the Mint.

† Baker; Stow; London Chron.; Sharon Turner; Lingard; Holinshed; Barante; Paston Letters; Monstrelet; Jean de Troye; Baudier; Villaret; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Rymer; Patent Rolls; Howel's Med. Hist. Anglicanæ; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Blore's Rutland; Maitland's London.

René had taken the side of royalty in the league called "du bien public," for although he perceived in Louis XI. an ambitious spirit, he also could discern that the results of his conduct were profitable to his country. At the head of this league were the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, Brittany, and Nevers, the Count of Charolois, and John of Anjou.

In vain did René seek to dissuade his son, who had really to complain of his cousin, the King of France; but René himself remained faithful to his sovereign. His example was followed by the people of Angers, and thither, in 1464, did Louis XI. repair to encourage their loyalty.

The rendezvous of the league was at Etampes. To get there, the Duke of Brittany had to pass the river at Bouchemaine. The Angevins formed the design of closing up his passage, but René opposed this courageous project, for he hoped that a reconciliation would be effected by pacific means. Louis XI. was, however, much displeased with René for this, but ever after held the Angevins in higher estimation on this account.*

This affair probably had some influence in the treatment which Louis afterwards showed to his aged relative, in the seizure of Angers and other places, and the province of Anjou, which had been restored to King René upon the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Henry VI.†

John of Anjou perceived at length that the confederates sought only to gratify their own ambitious views, and he desired to put an end to the war. He was one of the chief authors of the treaties of Conflans and of St. Maceriles-Fosses. Peace was finally established, and Louis promised to remit to John of Anjou a considerable sum, with a large body of troops,

* Bourdigné; Godard Faultrier.

† Bodin; Monstrelet.

to enable him to sustain the rights of his family to the crown of Naples. This Duke, however, despaired of any further good fortune in Italy, and prayed the King to grant him these supplies for another object, viz., to prosecute his claims to the throne of Arragon.

The King of France from this time, instead of acceding to his request, vowed hatred to John of Anjou, and as he regarded it as a crime in all those who had embraced the cause called "*le bien public*," he did not scruple to violate all his sacred promises to this Prince. To this conduct of Louis has been attributed the subsequent ill-success of the Duke of Calabria in his campaign in Catalonia.

By the unanimous voice of the nation, the crown of this country had been offered, in 1468, to René of Anjou. Could he have accepted it, he would have had an opportunity, which he ardently desired, of avenging the affronts he had received in the kingdom of Naples from the Arragonese; and, besides, he had undoubted claims to the succession, in right of his mother Yoland; but René was now too aged to engage in so perilous an expedition, and he was obliged to refuse this mark of esteem, resigning his rights to his son John, Duke of Calabria, whom he dismissed to take possession of the principality of Catalonia.

This Prince set out with a formidable army, and in his first attack was very successful, but afterwards was less fortunate. Barcelona opened her gates to him with rejoicings, and the inhabitants were ardent in his cause. He next turned his arms against Lampourdon, which the King of Arragon, who was both old and blind, came to succour, but his troops were beaten in a tumultuous combat. This French army next marched to Gironne, where the people came out to oppose them, and on both sides they fought with

ardour, but greater loss was sustained by the besiegers, and when Prince Ferdinand arrived with fresh succours, the siege was raised.

Soon after, Ferdinand made a sally from the town, and was utterly defeated near Villademare, and was forced to fly. The Duke of Calabria most of all desired to take Girome, thinking that he should thereby facilitate the execution of all his projects. He therefore passed into France to raise new troops, and to make preparations to prosecute the war with vigour. He soon returned with a new army of 15,000 men from Roussillon and Sardinia, which, united to his old troops, made his forces superior to those of the Arragonese. He then renewed his attacks, and Girome, after being twice besieged, was at last taken. This war was carried on during three years, by the Duke of Calabria, with alternate good and bad success. In 1470, he routed the army of John, King of Arragon, and besieged the town of Peralto, upon which he returned to Barcelona, intending to pass the winter there, when he was seized with a fever, which caused his death, on the 16th of December, 1470, at the age of forty-five. This Prince was on the eve of obtaining possession of Arragon when his career was thus terminated. He was interred without pomp, as a private individual, in the cathedral of Barcelona.

1470.
Daniel;
Godin.

This Duke of Calabria left two sons, who survived him but a short time. He was much regretted, being a virtuous and wise Prince. He was also distinguished for his bravery, and was so great a general that it has been said, "he wanted only fortune to be "one of the most illustrious men of the times." Philip de Comines says of him that he was "as great "a commander as any one in the army, upon which "account a mutual friendship arose between him and "the Count of Charolois."

He also adds that “upon occasions of alarm that Duke was the first to mount his horse and sally forth amongst the soldiers, to direct them or give his commands, which were as readily obeyed as those of the Count himself; and, to say the truth, he deserved it.” *

The loss of their chief did not put an end to the civil discord amongst the Catalonians; the rebels kept up their courage, and called to their aid Gaston, who would not, they knew, despise the prospect of their principality being added to Sardinia and Roussillon. They also prohibited any governor being placed in the towns and fortresses, which had none, until René of Anjou, or a son of John, the late Duke, should arrive. These young Princes had already assumed the titles of Prince of Arragon and Duke of Calabria; yet they were but vain titles, adding nothing to their revenues. The age also of these Princes would not admit of either of them enduring the fatigues of war, and the Catalonians finally sought more efficient help from another quarter; but in the end, they all submitted to the King of Arragon.†

René of Anjou had been, during the military expeditions of his son John, inhabiting by turns the castles of Angers, Saumur, Pont de Cé, Beaufort, and Baugé, devoting himself entirely to the pursuits of private life. During the years 1468, 1469, and 1470 he employed himself in writing a collection of letters, 290 in number, relative to the Roman Chancellorship.

This Prince was versed in mathematics and theology; especially was he acquainted with the scriptures. His love of letters united him with the most remark-

* Some writers say that he died on the 7th or 9th of July, and others date this event in 1471.

† Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Bodin; Mariana; Mezerai; Monfaucon; Moreri; Chastellaine; Dom Calmet; Monstrelet.

able of the learned men of France and Italy; amongst the latter was the Doge of Genoa, Thomas de Campofregosa, a man no less distinguished by his situation, than by his knowledge.

Few monarchs have been gifted with so much genius as René; for instance, his fine illustrated book on the laws of chivalry, in the King's library, at Paris. Several of his works he dedicated to Louis XI. He wrote upon the functions of the *Poursuivantes d'armes*.^{*} He cultivated literature and the arts in general. Born with talents for war and politics, he only gave himself up with more ardour to peaceful occupations, forgetting, in the calm of a private life, those tumultuous cares which had for so long a time agitated his soul. He became, indeed, persuaded that "to be happy he ought to forget that he was a king." In his leisure hours he composed verses, as well as wrote in prose. He composed several moral treatises, rondos, and ballads, and formed devices, inscriptions, and tableaux. His poems place him in the rank of the troubadours of his age, and some very pleasing Provençal songs, which he composed, he also ornamented with beautiful vignettes by his own hand.[†]

King René was, according to some historians, one of the most excellent painters of his age. Brantome says this, and it was the general opinion of his times. The portrait of René, painted by himself, has been preserved, and is called by Monfaucon a masterpiece. This picture was painted by René when he was grey-headed. It was placed in the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix.[‡]

Speaking of René as an artist, Bodin says, "this modest qualification was René's first title to glory,"

^{*} Hist. Général de Provence.

[†] Bodin; Moreri; Hist. Général de Provence.

[‡] Monfaucon; Horace Walpole; Bodin.

and, "the fine arts have woven him a crown." To these, indeed, he was a protector and a friend. His works contributed greatly to the progress of painting in France, and his painting in the cathedral of Aix has been considered, on account of the manner in which it was executed, as one of the most precious monuments of the arts in France. At this time the arts were but in their infancy in Italy, and it was the residence of the Popes at Avignon, which gave rise to their cultivation in Provence. Coloured miniatures were much in vogue, in which less taste than finish is exhibited. René was very successful in that line, and he also made several oil paintings in the style of the Flemish artists.

The principal paintings which are known of René's are, the skeleton which decorated his tomb in the church of St. Maurice, at Angers, and the "Burning Bush," which is in the cathedral of Aix. René excelled in painting figures on glass, and some of these figures are still to be seen.*

Notwithstanding the magnificence of the court of the Duke of Burgundy, who loved to gratify his vanity, by drawing a numerous concourse of knights to his fêtes, the French barons preferred the less ostentatious court of the King of Sicily, where the simplicity of the manners of René, and his affable reception had more attractions for them. In his private, as well as in his public life, King René was admirable for good nature. To great benevolence he united a gay and lively disposition. He was very witty. Ever fertile in sallies, he one day exclaimed, "Truly you will see, that in the end, he will ask of me "my county of Provence," speaking of a gentleman, who did not think his services were sufficiently recompensed, and became importunate in his demands,

* Bodin ; Moreri ; Hist. Général de Provence.

and as he spoke, René cast a look at another person similarly situated.

This Prince was very sober. We are assured that he drank no wine. One day, some Neapolitan lords, asked him his reason for this. "It is," he replied, "in order to give the lie to Livy, who pretended that, the Gauls only passed the Alps to drink the wines." *

René held his court alternately in Anjou and Provence, and encouraged in both these provinces a taste for the *belles lettres* and the arts. This was doubtless the occasion of the remark of a modern author, that "there exists a great similarity between the Angevins and the Provençals in their customs, profane and religious; in their manners, both public and private; their patriotism, language, attachment to their sovereign, and their love of letters; which all prove," says he, "that these two charming countries have been governed by the same masters." By his relations with Italy, as well as by his benevolent character, René softened the manners of the Angevins. Literature, the arts, the theatre, all flourished under his reign.

He loved his people sincerely, and thus became popular; for although his talents were great and his judgment good, the kindness of his heart was still more observable than these. †

The ambition of enlarging his domains did not influence this monarch, who had long experienced the inconstancy, and perfidy of men, and conceived a sort of contempt for all that flatters the pride of kings.

The reign of this Prince was daily marked by new

* Moreri; Bodin; Hist. Général de Provence; Villeneuve Barge-mont.

† Bodin; Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Hist. Général de Provence.

benefits. His life was that of a philosopher and a good Christian, and his meditations and religious exercises made him forget the adversities and troubles of his stormy life. He had all the qualities of a great man. René's love of justice has been much boasted of, and indeed he had been sometimes seen returning from battle to listen to the complaints of individuals, or to sign despatches, before he had laid aside his armour. The letters which he signed with the greatest pleasure were letters of pardon, or those, by which he recompensed services. This occasioned him to say, that "the pen of princes ought never to be idle." He also said, when speaking of the attention with which prompt justice ought to be rendered, that long expeditions caused the loss of the good will, and affection of the people; and these opinions became the rule of his conduct.

The misfortunes of his reign, and of those of his predecessors, had occasioned the loss of the custom of the Grand Seneschal's going throughout the province in order to watch over the administration of justice. René, himself a skilful administrator, restored this important function of their office with vigour, in the year 1443; and commanded them to punish severely those who would have oppressed the people by their injustice. In 1448 he adjudged the criminal proceedings, prescribing a more simple form of law-suit; regulated the salaries of attorneys, and sheltered the litigious from cunning and trickery. He also prevented by a wise law, the misdemeanors of guardians and trustees, and restrained impiety, blasphemy, and gambling. He diminished taxation, and favoured the sessions of the states, at which he habitually presided.

At Marseilles he reorganized the jurisdiction of the "prud' hommes pecheurs;" and by the establishment of the ordinance companies, in concert with King

Charles VII. he contributed to substitute, in lieu of the feudal system, a regular standing army.*

King René's institution for the honest fishermen of Marseilles, withstood all the storms of the Revolution. This tribunal may be traced back to the tenth century, and it received, in 1471, from King René its definitive organization. The four judges who composed it, and their assistants, were elected annually on the day of Pentecost. At their sittings they wore judges' gowns, and were informed in all the points of contention relative to fishing; each one pleaded his own cause, and gave for costs two sous. The jury decided always justly, and the president expressed it, by saying to him whose complaint was without foundation, "La loi vous condamne." Against this sentence, returned by the peers, there was no appeal.

René loved much the fishermen, doubtless from pious motives, for his simple faith tended to a regard for all that recalled to him the Apostles. He permitted the fishermen to carry to the Fête Dieu a large wax taper, or torch, preceded by three minstrels. This custom still exists, the same as the fête of the Charibande, in imitation of the beacons of St. John. The Syndic of the fishery of Reculéé was called "The King of the "Roach," and in this quality presided at the Charibande.†

King René has by some been called the "Merry Monarch," whilst others have regarded him with contempt, and doubtless there were instances of his peculiar genius and taste, which led to such remarks, and perhaps the following may serve as an instance:—

Some lords being at variance in a matter of interest, René went from Anjou into Brittany to conciliate them. He came to Carbai, a small parish in the

* Bodin ; Moreri ; Godard Faultrier ; Hist. Général de Provence.

† Moreri ; Bodin ; Godard Faultrier.

Canton of Pouance, which in time of war furnished a dozen men to the garrison of his castle of Angers, and paid annually twelve poulets and an hundred bushels of oats. The King was touched at perceiving the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of this village. He released them from the tribute of provision, but on the following condition: He commanded that each year, the day after Easter, the people should assemble and appoint by a majority of votes a king, whom they should choose from amongst his vassals, born in their parish, and unmarried; that they should place a crown on his head of the bark of the willow, surrounded by the ears of hares. This King, being naked, was to jump into the pond, near to the town of Carbai, and after this feat, the parish should obtain a quittance of this impost. The same day the King of Carbai, accompanied by all the vassals of the parish, assisted at high mass, with the crown on his head and a white wand in his hand. After mass he made several declarations in his name. The prior, who was the lord temporal and spiritual of Carbai, gave to this King, during the day of his royalty, lodging, fire, and fifteen pounds of butter, and a frying-pan. The rector offered up prayers for him, and every householder gave two eggs, and in default of payment all their poulets were confiscated for his profit. Each individual married within the twelvemonths owed him a tribute of four farthings, and in default of payment he was taken to the pond.*

King René has been reproached by some historians, who say he possessed all the qualities valuable to a private individual, but none of those required by kings, and which made him forget in the pursuit of studies and amusements his duties as a sovereign.

René encouraged industry amongst his people as much as it was possible to do so, at a time when the

* Bodin.

means of encouraging and extending it were not yet known. He made a treaty with the King of Bone, in Africa, in order to establish the safety of navigation between their respective subjects. He afterwards found that liberty only could give activity to commerce, and he granted freedom to all vessels that might enter the port of Marseilles, of whatever nation they might be, but, with the ignorance partaking of the spirit of that age, he restricted them to one year.

King René contributed much to the establishment of the first manufactory for glass ever known, at Goult, about two leagues from the town of Apt, in Provence. He declares by an edict that the gentlemen of Provence shall, without derogation, be able to employ themselves in this kind of industry. He also favoured the works in the mines, by grants almost gratuitous.

René was the first to restrain the cupidity of goldsmiths, which he effected by commanding that the services of gold and silver newly made, should be marked with the arms of the city of Aix, by persons appointed to examine if the title were not altered.

In agriculture René confined himself to the culture of flowers and trees, and the still imperfect art of embellishing gardens. The northern provinces of the kingdom were indebted to him for their carnations, roses of Provence, the musk rose, and muscadine grapes. He likewise favoured the plantations of mulberry trees, which had become of importance since luxury had rendered the use of silk more general.

René also bestowed his care and affection on the most rare and various species of birds. In his manuscript life we read that he was the first who introduced into France white, black, and red peacocks. Also he brought into notice the large red partridge, and several species of rabbits. He forbade the hunting of hares

and partridges in the vineyards of Arles, Tarascon, and Marseilles, perhaps to reserve them for himself alone, for there appears no other reason that he could have had, for allowing the increase of these two kinds of game in Lower Provence.

René was tall and well made. He was of an agreeable countenance, and very gallant. Some writers have even reproached him with too great love for the female sex, and say, that his regard for them amounted to a weakness, to which he became the slave in his old age. Traces of this passion are found in several of his acts and writings; for instance, one of the articles of the statutes of the "Order of the Crescent," which was founded by René, expressly prohibits the knights from slandering women, of whatever rank they might be. The Courts of Love in Provence, which had been so conducive to chivalric gallantry throughout Europe, no longer existed in the time of this Prince, who, finding he could not re-establish them, instituted a "Prince of Love," to whom he gave annual officers, similar to those of the "Parliament of Love." These officers accompanied their "Prince of Love" to the grand procession of the Fête Dieu, at Aix, and for them he established a right, vulgarly called "pêlotte," which widows and widowers had to pay when they married again, as if to punish them for their inconstancy; and this was also exacted from such persons as married foreigners. This singular law the Parliament of Aix confirmed by several decrees, and it was preserved until the year 1789.*

The Duke of Burgundy had formed his alliance with King Edward not from affection, but from state policy. His mother was a princess of the Lancastrian line, and had been brought up in an habitual hatred of the "House of York;" but even this the Duke had sacri-

* Hist. Général de Provence; Bodin.

ficed to his interests in his marriage with Edward's sister.

He now saw himself reduced to the alternative of abandoning his brother-in-law, who had thrown himself on his protection, or of becoming involved in a war with the allied powers of France and of England.* The Dukes of Exeter and Somerset who had been well received at this court, and who had become more distinguished since the revolution in England, urged the Duke to abandon the fugitive prince.

The Earl of Warwick had dismissed a body of troops to Calais, to await his orders for an invasion of the Low Countries; and Vaucleir, the governor of Calais, took this opportunity of showing his fidelity to the Earl, by his reception of these forces, and by other means.

It was of so much importance to the interests of the Duke of Burgundy to preserve peace with England, that he dared not to exasperate the Earl of Warwick; he therefore pretended, that it was with reluctance he had received the unfortunate Edward into his dominions, and that he was not at all disposed to give him any succours. He manœuvred, however, to assure Edward privately, that he would give him all the assistance he required, when an opportunity should offer of doing so, without incurring hazard. King Edward was but ill pleased, desiring earnestly that the Duke would declare for him openly, hoping it would be a means of keeping his party alive in England. Finding the Duke was resolved, and that the Duchess his sister failed to persuade him, Edward sought to gain a private audience. He was admitted, for the Duke knew not how to refuse him, when Edward represented to him that while he delayed to declare for him, the Earl of Warwick was strengthening his party in England, and that nothing but speedy succour could retrieve his fallen fortunes.

* Philip de Comines; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Villaret; Hume.

He then informed him of the promise of Clarence, and urged the necessity of instant measures, lest he should again change his mind, or Warwick impede the execution of his design, which should he discover he could prevent by removing him from public affairs. King Edward next reminded the Duke of their mutual oaths of friendship and assistance in adversity, and added, that by relieving him at this moment he would be promoting the good of his family, who might one day require a similar assistance, and he would besides enjoy the honour of restoring a king to his throne. Finally, he engaged to enter into a firm alliance with him, to assist him in his war with France as soon as he should have recovered his authority in England, and that thus there would be a greater chance of success. He concluded by saying, that the Duke's attempt to dissemble with the Earl and the King of France would be ineffectual, and would not prevent their uniting to effect his ruin.* These arguments had great weight with the Duke of Burgundy, especially that which related to his war with Louis XI., whom he could not expect to repulse without the help of England, and which could only be procured by the restoration of Edward. He was, however, unable to render this monarch much assistance in the present posture of affairs ; and should the attempt fail, it would inevitably draw upon him the indignation of Warwick, who only wanted an excuse to attack him. A thought now struck him, of a means by which to save his credit with both parties. He gave orders for four vessels to be fitted up at Vere, a port in Holland, under the names of some persons, to whom he remitted the necessary sums ; he also hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings to convey King Edward, and to guard the English coast for fifteen days, that in the event of his failure he might re-embark.

* Philip de Comines ; Lingard ; Hume ; Henry ; Rapin.

The Duke of Burgundy next bestowed on the English monarch a large sum of money, viz., 50,000 florins of gold, with which he left him in Holland, while he returned himself into Flanders.

When the preparations were completed, King Edward sailed; upon which, notice of his disappearance was carried to the Duke, who instantly proclaimed that no one should, on pain of death, give him any aid. This manœuvre would not have imposed upon the Earl of Warwick, had not Edward's project been crowned with success.*

We are informed that the Duke of Somerset and other nobles, who had been banished the kingdom, were already preparing to embark with Queen Margaret and her son, when another revolution, no less sudden and extraordinary than the last, took place in England.

In the month of January, 1471, the Earl of Warwick received some intimations of the proceedings of the Yorkists; and in consequence issued orders for the Marquis of Montague to levy an army in the north. The Duke of Clarence also, received a commission to assemble troops to oppose King Edward, should he attempt to land in England.†

This enterprise was soon after undertaken by Edward, who in March of this year, 1471, sailed from the port of Vere, taking with him 2,000 men. When in sight of Cromer, in Norfolk, he sent on shore Sir Robert Chamberlaine, Sir Gilbert Debenham, and others to see how the country stood affected towards him; but, through the vigilance of the Earl of Oxford, such great preparations had been made on the part of Henry to oppose him, that Edward found it would be unsafe to stay there, and they steered northwards. They, at

* Philip de Comines; Monfaucon; Baker; Chastellain; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Villaret.

† Rapin; Henry.

1471.
Rapin;
Henry.

1471.
Comines;
Lingard;
Hume;
Allen's
York.

length, succeeded in landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and Edward expected to be received here with every demonstration of joy, but in this he was mistaken. Many of the inhabitants of these parts were well affected towards King Henry, while others feared to run the risk of espousing the cause of Edward.

It is worthy of remark, that it was at Ravenspur that Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. King Edward was induced to imitate that monarch in his dissimulation and perjury. He showed a safe conduct from the Earl of Northumberland, and pretended that he did not come to claim the crown, but his father's inheritance.

No opposition being offered, Edward proceeded cautiously, making it appear that he came only as Duke of York to recover his property which had been confiscated. His motive for this line of conduct was, that he believed the people were attached to him, although the magistrates were against him. This might have been owing to the foresight of the Earl of Warwick, who, upon the restoration of Henry VI., had filled up these offices with persons attached to his service, and to these he had just sent orders not to admit Edward as Duke of York.

By coming thus only to claim his inheritance, Edward gave the people an opportunity of declaring for him, while the magistrates had not so good a pretext for the exercise of their authority as they might have had if he had advanced his pretensions to the crown. To convince the people of his sincerity, he even took an oath to the effect, and received the sacrament upon it, that he came, not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his inheritance. He wore the ostrich feather, the ensign of Prince Edward, and ordered his followers to cry "King Henry!" in every town and village through which they passed. Styling himself Duke of York, he

thus made his way to the city of York, much displeased, however, at the indifference shown him by the people.*

1471.
Hume ;
Rapin ;
Allen's
York.

Warwick and Clarence were levying forces with the greatest activity, from the time they were informed of King Edward's arrival. They issued orders for the magistrates of the different towns to close their gates against the Yorkists, and Montague, who had an army at Pontefract, was commanded to march against Edward, and prevent his gaining admission into York; but, for some reason which has never been explained, the Marquis remained where he was, and did not oppose the invader's progress. This conduct has been attributed to various causes: the most probable is, that Montague, thinking that Edward might be successful, adopted this course, in order to be afterwards reconciled to him, and believing he could make his peace with Warwick, should he gain the day.

At the city of York, King Edward was met by two of the aldermen of that city, who, as representatives of the magistrates, entreated him to march another way, as they could not possibly receive one, who came to wrest the crown from their lawful sovereign. Edward mildly replied that such was not his purpose; but, since the nation had again acknowledged Henry for their King, he also had received him, and intended no harm towards him. He came but to require him to restore his estates, having but a few followers with him; he looked to Parliament to decide his cause, and he wished but to end his days in peace in that allegiance which became a faithful subject. That, as for the rest, he ought not to be denied admittance into York, since not only his title, but his lands being in their county, made him especially a countryman of

* Sandford; Baker; Daniel; Stow; Lond. Chron.; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Monstrelet; Comines; Monfaucon; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Villaret.

theirs. In short, he reminded them of the favours they had received from his family.

The magistrates were but ill pleased with this reply, yet they could not appease the clamours raised by the Duke's friends, who were numerous in that city. These represented that the Duke ought to be admitted, as he acknowledged the authority of King Henry, and was willing to submit to the decisions of Parliament; finally, that they should not refuse one, who came only to claim his own inheritance.

At length some deputies were sent by the magistrates to Edward to make terms with him, and prevent the plunder of the city. Their proposals were at once agreed to by Edward, who assured them that he had no intention of injuring the city, and that he was sincere in his obedience to King Henry. These declarations procured him a ready admission into the city, where he proceeded to the cathedral, and confirmed his engagements by a sacred oath. This obtained him the good will of the citizens, so that they lent him money to defray his expenses, and he was thus enabled to proceed to London. His army was much augmented while at York, and he had great expectations of still more increasing it on his route; moreover, he relied on the promise of Clarence to come over to him.

At Nottingham, Edward was joined by Lord Stanley, Sir Thomas Parr, Sir James Harrington, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and several others, who brought him reinforcements. Finding himself now at the head of an army of 4,000 men, or more, he threw off the mask, and, in violation of the oath he had just taken in the cathedral of York, he assumed the name of King.*

During these transactions Warwick and Clarence had been employed in raising two separate armies,

1471
Rapin;
Henry.

* Baker; Stow; Rapin; Allen's York; Henry; Lingard.

which they intended to unite, and to place the young Prince Edward at their head, as chief commander, but, this Prince had not yet returned from France; when Warwick, who had not doubted that Montague would have been powerful enough to repel King Edward, heard to his great amazement, that the Marquis had permitted him to pass on without opposition, and that Edward's army was increasing continually in numbers as it advanced towards the metropolis.

The Earl of Warwick was much puzzled to know the motives of Montague's conduct, yet he resolved to act with caution. He first despatched express orders for the Marquis to come and join him; and at the same time, desiring the Duke of Clarence to advance with haste, he came to the resolution of encamping near Coventry. At this place he intended to await the approach of King Edward, and seek to amuse him until these two bodies of troops should be able to join him. These set out in obedience to the Earl's commands, but, before they could reach him, Edward approached very near the camp of Warwick, who, finding himself too weak to encounter him, sent several despatches to hasten the assistance of Clarence; the latter excused his delay, when, just as the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Duke of Gloucester rode off to the camp of his brother, with a few followers, and without having asked a safe conduct. He was affectionately received by Clarence, and, after a short conference, King Edward was proclaimed throughout the army, all the officers being prepared for this event, and having previously been persuaded to espouse his cause.

It was thus that this monarch, but a short time before a fugitive and suppliant to a foreign prince, beheld himself once more, at the head of a powerful army, and acknowledged King by the chief nobility of

England, being the same day joined by Clarence and all his forces.

Warwick, notwithstanding this very unexpected blow, would not listen to any accommodation, although the Duke of Clarence, who felt some compunction for his own conduct, sent to offer his mediation between his brother and the Earl.

The latter replied with indignation, "Tell your master," said he, "that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence. The sword he had appealed to, was the only arbiter he would admit between him and his enemies."

The Earl of Warwick had hoped that the Londoners would refuse to admit Edward, should he appear before the capital, and resolved, in this case, to follow him thither, as soon as he should be joined by the Marquis of Montague, and either compel him to retire, or fight him before the gates, at a great disadvantage.*

The Earl, when rejoined by Montague and others, sent to his brother, the Archbishop of York, to endeavour to keep possession of the capital. For this purpose the latter sought to arouse the loyalty of the citizens towards the Lancastrian King. He caused this monarch to ride from St. Paul's, through the Cheap, down Walbroke; yet this expedient had but little effect, so many of the Londoners being favourable to King Edward. Finding his efforts so unsuccessful, the Archbishop secretly sent to obtain the pardon of Edward, which was granted him, upon his assurances of future fidelity.

As it had been expected, King Edward marched directly to London. He had many friends there, and he flattered himself that, when they beheld him approach with so powerful an army, they would use their

* Cont. Hist. Croy.; Speed; Stow; Baker; Comines; Lingard; Howel; Paston Letters; Monfaucon; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

influence with the people to procure him admission. Nothing could be more advantageous to him than to gain over this city to his interests; and the army of Warwick being at a distance favoured his design. Many of the citizens also owed him large sums of money, of which he stood in need; and he could not calculate upon entire success in his restoration, unless he had command of the capital. It was also of great consequence to him that he should obtain possession of King Henry's person. He had therefore resolved to run all hazards, which he knew would be great, should the citizens refuse to receive him.

In London great consternation had prevailed when the news arrived of the Duke of Clarence having joined his brother's standard. Despair of Warwick's success spread universally, and inspired a kind of terror into the minds of the people, which Edward's friends artfully sought to augment, by reminding them of the danger to which they were exposed from this King's resentment, should they not adopt some speedy means of submission. All those who had taken refuge in the Sanctuaries, no less than 2,000 in number, came forward now to advance the interests of their King, whilst his enemies drew back in dismay, lest they should involve themselves in some new trouble. In vain did the Duke of Somerset and the Archbishop of York seek to oppose the tide of popularity towards Edward; they were not listened to, and their assurances that, within three days, Warwick would be at their gates to relieve them, were equally unavailing; the sight of Edward's army made them disbelieve all they said. In short, the Lancastrians were compelled to withdraw from the city, while the people hailed King Edward's return, and went out in crowds to meet him, sending forth the loudest acclamations of joy. Amidst these contending interests, no one so much as

thought of aiding the escape of the unfortunate King Henry.

In a triumphal manner King Edward entered the city of London on the 11th of April, 1471. He rode first to St. Paul's, and thence to the Bishop's Palace, where the Archbishop of York presented himself, leading King Henry by the hand, whom he delivered up to Edward. The Lancastrian monarch was, after a reign of only six months, since his release, again committed to the Tower.

1471.
John Rous ;
Toplis ;
Lingard ;
Rapin.

King Edward then proceeded to Westminster, and there returned thanks to God for his safe return. He also expressed, in lively terms, his gratitude to the people, for their demonstration of attachment to him, promising to bear it in remembrance ; and he performed several acts of clemency, which served to heighten his popularity. He then immediately re-assumed the government of the kingdom.*

* Sandford ; Stow ; Baker ; Howel ; Hume ; Daniel : Monfaucon ; Lingard ; Rapin ; Henry ; John Rous ; Toplis ; Paston Letters.

CHAPTER VII.

(*Warwick.*)

“ My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows,
“ That I must yield my body to the earth,
“ And by my fall, the conquest to my foe.”

SHAKESPEARE.

(*King Henry.*)

“ Ah! kill me with thy weapon, not with words!
“ My breast can better brook thy dagger’s point,
“ Than can my ears that tragic history.
“ But wherefore dost thou come? is’t for my life?”

SHAKESPEARE.

The Earl of Warwick resolves to fight—Battle of Barnet—King Edward enters London in triumph—Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth—She goes to Beaulieu—Her alarm for her son’s safety—She goes to Bath—The lords assemble the Lancastrian forces—King Edward collects his army—The battle of Tewkesbury—Queen Margaret taken prisoner—The Duke of Somerset and the Grand Prior of St. John’s taken, and executed—Prince Edward murdered—Sir John Fortescue taken prisoner, and liberated by King Edward—Queen Margaret led in triumph to London, and imprisoned in the Tower—Henry VI. murdered—His character, &c.

THE Earl of Warwick advanced with great speed towards London. He had entertained hopes that the citizens would detain King Edward at least a few days, in the expectation of his succours; but, finding himself disappointed, he had no resource left but to give his enemies battle, however uncertain he might feel of the result. Of his success in this engagement he could not but be doubtful, his army being less numerous than that of the King, and the uncertain conduct of his brother, the Marquis of Montague, having given him great cause for mistrust.

The Marquis had joined in his plot with evident

reluctance, and he had since twice neglected to assist him, under circumstances which ought to have called forth the greatest exertions. He could not dismiss him, without discouragement to his army; still, after beholding the conduct of Clarence, he feared much that his own brother might have been corrupted. At length Warwick resolved to risk his fortunes on the event of a battle, and, should he lose it, to perish. He arranged it so, however, that his brother Montague should be placed in as much peril as himself, since his conduct, upon this occasion, would alone prove his fidelity.

The army of Warwick was encamped in a large plain called Gladsmore Heath, near Barnet, ten miles north of London, and here these forces were met by King Edward. A terrible engagement followed, which decided the quarrel of the two parties. It was fought on the 14th of April, being Easter Day, in the year 1471.*

The unfortunate Henry the Sixth was brought to the field by his rival, King Edward, who did not think it safe to trust any one with the care of him. Happily for that monarch, amidst the various changes of fortune to which he was subject, his natural weakness of mind caused him to view with less anxiety, the difficulties and dangers which another of more energy and spirit would, doubtless, have regarded with the utmost alarm.†

The Earl of Warwick, upon this eventful day, wore an ostrich feather, to show his sincerity, as his cognizance—the badge of the young Prince Edward. He appointed to the command of the right wing of his army, which consisted of horse, the Marquis of Mon-

1471.
Stow ;
Toplis ;
Paston
Letters ;
Pennant ;
Rapin ;
Henry ;
Hume ;
Lingard.

* An obelisk was erected to commemorate this battle by Sir Jeremy Sambroke, of Gobion, in the year 1740, near Barnet.

† Sandford ; Stow ; Speed ; Toplis ; Pennant ; Rapin ; Henry ; Lingard ; Cont. Hist. Croyland ; Philip de Comines.

tague, and the Earl of Oxford, and the left, consisting also of horse, he led on himself, with the Duke of Exeter, while the main body, consisting of bills and bows, was conducted by the Duke of Somerset.

On the King's side the Duke of Gloucester led the vanguard, King Edward the main body, and Lord Hastings brought up the rear. The fight commenced at an early hour in the morning, some say four o'clock, and continued until noon.* Both sides fought with great obstinacy and various success. Never, perhaps, was more undaunted courage displayed, than upon this occasion.

As no one could expect any favour from his adversary, each exerted himself to the utmost, fighting with deadly hatred, knowing that certain destruction followed, if defeated. The Earl of Warwick's followers especially strove with desperation, and at first had reason to expect the victory; indeed, it appeared to them so certain, that a few from the squadrons of the Earl, rode off with the news to London of the defeat of the Yorkists.

King Edward, however, bringing up a body of reserve, fell upon the flank of the Earl of Warwick's army, and put it into great confusion. The Earl's forces were too small to admit of his making a detachment to prevent this accident, and a movement of the Earl of Oxford assisted in turning the fortunes of the day against the Earl of Warwick. Oxford had been successful against King Edward, but, thinking that he had left his line too much exposed, he wheeled back again. Unfortunately his badge, a star† with streams, too much resembling the King's, which was a sun, it

* Others say the fight was over at ten o'clock.

† Speed tells us that Oxford's men had his star or mullet embroidered on their coats, and King Edward's soldiers the sun; but it was a little white rose, with the rays of the sunbeams pointing round about it.—*Lowers's Heraldry*.

was mistaken, and a fine mist arising, the Lancastrians were unable to distinguish between them. Thus, when Oxford returned to his post, his squadrons were taken for those of the enemy, and this Earl's prudent precaution eventually became his ruin, for his followers were routed before he could convince them of their error. Great disorder then prevailed; some thinking that they were betrayed, being attacked by their own forces, cried "Treason! treason!" and went over to the enemy; while others, seeing them fly, believed that they were attacked in the rear, and were dreadfully alarmed, and at a loss how to act. Finally, King Edward, taking advantage of the mistake, despatched all who fled towards him, and Warwick's efforts were quite ineffectual towards restoring order. He exerted himself to the utmost, striving by his own example to encourage his army. He rushed on foot into the thickest of the fight, and ere long met his death, being covered with wounds. His brother Montague, seeking to rescue him, shared the same fate. The Lancastrian army was entirely routed. No less than 10,000 were slain; for King Edward, who had on former occasions, commanded that the soldiers should be spared, but no quarter given to the generals, had, upon this day, issued orders for an indiscriminate slaughter. Twenty-three knights were slain on the side of the Lancastrians, amongst whom was Sir William Tyrell.

The Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Oxford fled into Wales to the Earl of Pembroke, who was at this time levying troops there for the Earl of Warwick.

The Duke of Exeter had fought with much bravery in this battle, and was left for dead on the field; but he recovered, and, crawling to the nearest house, prevailed upon some friends to convey him to the Sanctuary of Westminster.

On the side of King Edward were slain Humphrey

Bouchier, Lord Cromwell, Lord Barnes, and Sir John Lisle, Lords Say, Mountjoy, and others. Most of those who were killed in this battle were buried upon the plain where they had fought, and a chapel was afterwards built there by King Edward, who appointed a priest to say mass for the souls of the departed.*

Such was the termination of this bloody engagement, and the tragic end of Warwick, the most powerful and conspicuous subject England ever beheld, having obtained such great influence that he was able to raise to the throne, or to remove from it, kings at his own will; thence was he styled "the king-maker." The death of this Earl was more important to King Edward than any victory could have been; for the continued success of this nobleman had so gained on the superstitious minds of the people, as to cause the belief that the party he supported must eventually triumph.†

The bodies of the Earl of Warwick and his brother Montague were exposed to view for three or four days in St. Paul's, that all might know of their death, and no more pretend the contrary, and cause sedition, and then they were interred in the monastery at Bisham, in Berkshire, which had been founded by the Montacutes, their maternal ancestors. The remains of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who had been beheaded at York, in 1460, for his adherence to the Lancastrian cause, had been also buried there.‡

Some writers affirm that Montague deserted to

* Sir John Paston, who fought in this battle for the Lancastrians, wrote to his mother four days after, that the loss of life, on both sides, amounted to more than a thousand men; other writers say 4,000. Fabyan and Toplis tell us 1,500 fell on the side of the victors; Hall, 10,000 at the least; also Howel, 10,000.

† Stow; Sandford; Howel; Toplis; Baker; Hall; Fabyan; Paston Letters; Lond. Chron.; Pennant; Leland Coll.; Monstrelet; Allen's York; Monfaucon; Daniel; Biographie Universelle; Rapin; Barante; Lingard; Henry; Hume; Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

‡ Stow; Paston Letters; Hardyng's Chron.; *Magna Britannia*; Bridges's Northamptonshire; Lingard; Baker's Northamptonshire.

Edward, and thus caused the defeat of Warwick, and that when the Earl of Warwick's followers discovered that he had changed his livery, they slew him immediately. Also that Warwick, seeing his brother slain, Oxford fled, and the fortune of the day turned against him, leaped upon a horse, in hopes of escaping, but, coming to an impassable wood, was there killed.*

It is possible that the Earl of Warwick might have been more fortunate had he awaited the arrival of Queen Margaret, whose presence, at least, would have drawn to his standard, all the most zealous friends of the House of Lancaster; but the pride of the Earl would not permit this delay, as he did not choose to share the honours of his triumph with his Queen, desiring that they should be exclusively his own. No doubt his hatred to Queen Margaret had some influence, and also his fear of the Duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death.†

Warwick, also, might have relied much on his own popularity, which speedily drew a numerous party around his standard, everyone being proud of bearing his cognizance, "the bear and ragged staff," in his cap; some of gold enamelled, others of silver, and those who could not afford the precious metals, cut them out of white silk or cloth.

No one was better fitted to obtain partizans than this noble Earl, for besides his wealth, valour, and warlike skill, his manners were authoritative and persuasive, and he well knew how to inspire affection in those whom he would unite in his cause.‡

Once again king, Edward entered London triumphantly (bringing his prisoner, King Henry the Sixth with him), and having, to all appearance, by this

* Pennant; Monstrelet; Baker.

† Barante; Philip de Comines; Hume; Baudier.

‡ Barante; Pol. Vergil.

victory, secured his crown. He was welcomed anew with joy by the citizens, who had feared Warwick's return, even if successful.

After returning thanks to God in St. Paul's, King Edward remanded the unfortunate Henry to his former prison in the Tower. A pardon was also issued by the King for the Archbishop of York, whom, through mistrust, he had before committed to prison ; probably not wishing to offend the clergy, and also desirous of showing his gratitude to the Archbishop for having, whether purposely, or inadvertently, permitted his escape from Middleham Castle.*

There were others who sought for King Edward's favour, but were less fortunate. Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, from the Sanctuary of Westminster, where he had taken refuge, addressed his prayer to the King to spare his life, and he had hopes that, through the intercession of his wife, the sister of Edward, he should obtain his pardon. This lady, however, far from commiserating the unhappy position to which the adverse fortunes of her husband had brought him, not only neglected him, but in the following year sued for and obtained a divorce (November 12th, 1472), and then married Sir Thomas St. Leger.

The Duke of Exeter, meanwhile, had been cast into prison, where he received only the weekly allowance of half a mark. He afterwards escaped and went abroad, where he lived in great distress and poverty. Finally, in 1474, his dead body was found on the sea-shore, on the coast of Kent ; but we have no account of the means of his escape from prison, or of the authors of his death.†

* Stow ; Fabyan ; Hardyng's Chron. ; Allen's York ; Toplis ; Paston Letters ; Baker ; Rapin ; Lingard.

† To this Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, Henry VI. was godfather.—*Sandford ; Miller's Catalogue ; Stow ; Philip de Comines ; Paston Letters ; Lingard ; Leland Coll. ; Monstrelet.*

Another of the Lancastrians, John de Vere, Earl Oxford, became a fugitive after the unfortunate issue of the battle of Barnet. Some authors write that he fled to Scotland, where, discovering a plot to betray him, he escaped into Wales, to join the Earl of Pembroke. Others say, that after the encounter at Barnet he went into Wales and France; but all agree that he preferred a life of activity, and collected a few troops,* and, with his squadron of twelve sail, he swept the seas, carrying off rich prizes, and making inroads in the maritime counties. He surprised the strong fortress of St. Michael, in Cornwall. Coming to Mont St. Michael, with his followers disguised as pilgrims, to pay their devotions, as customary, at the church, they were admitted to the castle.

1471.
Paston
Letters.

1472.
Leland's
Itinerary.

They soon overpowered the small garrison, and repulsed the assaults of Sir John Arundell, who was sent to recover this castle, and who lost his life in the attempt. From this strong position Lord Oxford made depredations in the neighbouring counties, when he was assisted by the friends of the House of Lancaster, in his endeavours to wreak his vengeance on the Yorkists. Sir Henry Brodrugan, Esq., next besieged the Mount, but, his fidelity being suspected, he was superseded by Sir John Fortescue. This commander had been received into the favour of King Edward; we are not told, if he reluctantly entered on this office, but he exhibited his skill and judgment, in using persuasions and promises rather than arms. He was at first unsuccessful, but, after a long siege, the Earl of Oxford, becoming fearful of the treachery of his followers, surrendered, conditionally that their lives, as well as his own, should be spared.† The mercy of King Edward, however, only extended to the life of

1473.
Paston
Letters.

* Some writers say he had 400 men.

† A free pardon was granted to the accomplices of the Earl in this rebellion.

this nobleman, who was imprisoned for eleven years, in the castle of Ardennes, in Picardy. After the surrender of the Earl of Oxford at St. Michael's Mount, his estates were confiscated. His countess was left destitute, and during the period of her husband's imprisonment, supported herself by needlework—a strange reverse of fortune for one who was the daughter of the great Earl of Salisbury, and the sister of the potent “king-maker”! Yet such vicissitudes often mark the times of civil rebellion.*

1471

Nor was the Countess of Oxford the only distinguished female who suffered in these perilous times. After the death of the Earl of Warwick, his lady, Anne, was also deprived of her possessions, by the authority of Parliament, which were settled on her two daughters, Isabella and Anne. The former had been married to the Duke of Clarence; the latter to the young Prince Edward, son of Henry VI. By this arrangement it was made to appear as though their mother was naturally dead.

This Countess of Warwick took sanctuary at Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where she continued a long time in a mean condition. She afterwards, privately, went into the north, where she also experienced great difficulties. Some years later, after the death of her daughters, when Henry VII. desired himself to possess Barnard Castle (which belonged to her inheritance), he annulled the former act, and restored her possessions.†

During this succession of events Queen Margaret had been detained at Harfleur. She had arrived on the coast with the Prince, her son, in the month of

* Paston Letters; Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Rot. Parl.; Lysons' Mag. Brit.; Lingard; Leland Collection; Seyer's Bristol.

† It was not until the year 1488 that this countess recovered her lands.—*Hutchinson's Durham.*

November, and had remained there all the winter. When at last she embarked, on the 4th of March, she was tossed about by winds and waves, which, as if in forgetfulness of their natural inconstancy, had been uniformly adverse to her voyage during five entire months, thus preventing her landing in England in time to prevent the misfortunes which had just befallen her party. This unfortunate heroine was, at last, destined to land at Weymouth,* after being detained three weeks in the channel, in total ignorance of all that had happened. It was the 14th of April, 1471,† on the evening of the very day upon which the battle of Barnet, so fatal to her hopes, had taken place.‡

1471.
Stow ;
Magna
Britannia ;
Rapin ;
Hume ;
Henry.

Having at length attained the shore, after so many vicissitudes, with a few French troops, she might well, in the impulse of feeling, have exclaimed—

“ I weep for joy
“ To stand upon my country once again.
“ Dear earth, I do salute thee !”

Fortune had often been the cruel enemy, and again befriended Queen Margaret. Upon this occasion she seemed to have driven her to the brink of despair at a time when she had been allowed to indulge the most brilliant hopes of prosperity and of happiness. It was but a short time since the Earl of Warwick, his brother, and the Duke of Clarence had all united their interests with hers. Clarence had now proved traitor. Warwick, who had months before impatiently awaited on the shore a long time for her arrival, but in vain,—alas! he was no more. Montague had also fallen, and all the

* Lingard says she landed at Plymouth ; Monstrelet, in Devonshire.

† Some tell us the Queen landed the week before Easter.

‡ Sandford ; Stow ; Baker ; Baudier ; Fabyan ; Shakespeare ; London Chron. ; Paston Letters ; Hume ; Biographie Universelle ; Daniel ; Ellis's Hist. of Weymouth ; Henry ; Mag. Britannia ; Lingard ; Leland's Itin.

noble army of the Lancastrians was now entirely dispersed. The beloved husband and pacific King Henry had been again consigned to a prison. What chances were these? Queen Margaret could but look upon herself as destitute and helpless, and again thrown upon her own resources; and all these changes had happened at a moment when she had fondly imagined that nothing but the contrary winds had impeded her restoration to authority, to honour, to her husband, and to her throne. Nay, her imagination, ever lively, might have even pictured her triumphal entrance into the capital, amidst the acclamations of the people;—but what a reverse was here!

The transition from joy to sorrow, from the most buoyant hopes to the most heartfelt despondency, was too much—too much even for the heroic mind of Margaret of Anjou. She no sooner understood the extent of her losses and misfortunes than she sank down senseless on the floor, and could with great difficulty be recovered to life, and never, we are told, again was restored to the renewal of that hope which had animated her to her greatest exertions. She no longer perceived the possibility of her restoration to the throne, and all her wishes, all her thoughts, became concentrated in the protection of her son. That admirable firmness of mind which had so long distinguished her, now entirely forsook her, and, perceiving no remedy in her misfortunes, she abandoned herself to grief. She fled with her son for refuge, first to an abbey called Cearne, close by, and thence to the monastery of Beaulieu, in Hampshire.*

* At this period all churches and churchyards were sanctuaries, which afforded protection to traitors and delinquents of every kind for forty days. The most eminent of these sanctuaries in England were St. John's of Beverly, St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, Ripon in Yorkshire, St. Barsen's in Cornwall, and Westminster.—*Paston Letters*.

Baker; Henry; Baudier; Villaret; Rapin; Lingard; Hardyng's Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Hume; Wrazall's Tour; Hay's Biog.; Warner's Hampshire.

The Queen had with her the Grand Prior of St. John's, then called the Treasurer of England, who had been dismissed from England to fetch her, Lord Wenlock, and several knights and esquires. The intention of Margaret was to remain with these, her friends, in the Abbey of Beaulieu until she could safely return with them to France.* While Queen Margaret continued in this state of despondency, she was re-joined by Edmond, Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, and some others.† These noblemen sought to console the despairing Queen by representing to her that she still had reason for hope ; for although King Edward had been victorious in the last battle, he might yet be vanquished ; that the friends of her husband were still numerous in the kingdom, and that it would not be so difficult as she imagined to raise a new army to arrest the usurper's progress ; that, as one battle gained had restored to him the crown, so there was a chance that another lost might hurl him from it. They reminded her of the various changes which had occurred since the commencement of the quarrel between the two Houses, and thence bade her infer that there was still reasonable hope of success, provided she did not, by yielding herself up to unwarrantable fears, resign the interests of her family. That when she had herself acted as general, her armies had frequently been successful, and that it was still probable, that she might be victorious. Finally, that as her son, the Prince of Wales, was regarded as the true heir to the crown, his appearance at the head of her troops might be productive of a change in her favour. All these arguments, however, although set forth in the most persuasive manner, could not restore Queen Margaret to

* Baker ; Rapin ; Villaret ; Henry ; Blore's Rutland ; Fleetwood's MS.

† Lingard ; Hardyng's Chron. ; Rapin ; Henry ; Villaret.

her wonted energy. She either despaired of success after so many accumulated disasters, which had befallen her in such rapid succession, or else the hasty glance and anticipation of the future which great minds are ever disposed to take, and of which the past experience she had had enabled her to judge, prevailed to convince Margaret that her husband's restoration to the throne for so brief a period, was but as the flash of expiring light, previous to the extinction of the Lancastrian dynasty. When again she beheld her son, she longed to restore him to his rights, but was restrained by her maternal anxiety. She was evidently reluctant to expose herself once more to the changes of fortune ; but it was not that she feared for her personal safety, it was her affection for her son that made her apprehensive of the unhappy consequences of an unsuccessful enterprise. She perceived, that she could not attempt the recovery of the crown, without the imminent hazard of her son's life, and this reflection had so much weight with her, that it prevented her taking any decided step. She even proposed sending the young Prince back to France to await the event of their present undertaking ; but in this she was opposed by the Duke of Somerset, who relied upon the presence of Prince Edward, to attract many to his standard, and to inspire his followers with an ardent desire to fight in his cause. At last, when the Queen perceived that the lords were earnest to have her son present in battle, she violently opposed it, urging his youth, inexperience, and the great risk he would run, and adding that if he perished, every hope would be extinguished. She urged, that by sending him to France he would be in safety, and he might in the event of the failure of this enterprise remain in that country, and when advanced in years and strength would be able to return and assert his rights. Maternal feelings, however, at last

yielded, but it was only after a severe conflict between the dread of losing her son, and the desire of placing him on the throne, which was his lawful right, that this unfortunate Queen adopted the advice of her friends. She had risked much; she now resolved to hazard all in one last, desperate effort, to defend her fortunes.*

This resolution being once taken, Queen Margaret no longer displayed the same despondency, but considered the measures most politic in her present desperate circumstances. It was proposed that the Queen should retire with the Prince and Princess of Wales to Bath, and thither they hastened with a few attendants, while the Duke of Somerset and the noblemen and others, separated, to collect their adherents. These were to be united to the remains of the Earl of Warwick's army. Many, in a short time joined them at Exeter from Cornwall and Devonshire, through the influence of Sir Hugh Courtney, and Sir John Arundel.

The Earl of Pembroke set off to levy troops, in Wales, where his interest was greatest, having requested of the Duke of Somerset, who was Commander-in-chief under Prince Edward, not to engage in any contest, until he should rejoin him with his followers. With almost incredible speed this new army was assembled. On the 27th of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, these forces of the Lancastrians were drawn together, amounting to 40,000 men. With this army it was the intention of the commanders to march into Wales, and there join the Earl of Pembroke, and from thence to proceed into Cheshire, where they expected to strengthen their army with a body of archers, which would have made them very formid-

1471.
Hume ;
Rapin.
Crew ;
Henry.

* Habington ; Baker ; Lingard ; Rapin ; Villaret ; Henry ; Hume.

able.* At Bath the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire had many friends, and the name of Prince Edward attracted multitudes to their party. The Queen, however, did not yet feel sufficient confidence in her forces to risk a battle. Therefore she awaited the reinforcements which the Earl of Pembroke was expected to bring from Wales.

King Edward, meanwhile, receiving news of the Queen's intentions, reassembled his troops lately disbanded after the battle of Barnet, and with great expedition marched forwards, in order to prevent the union of Queen Margaret's forces with those of the Earl of Pembroke. He issued a proclamation declaring his right to the crown was unquestionable, being founded on justice and equity, confirmed by several parliaments, and established by his repeated victories. That, notwithstanding all this, many persons had risen up against him, and he now thought proper to add a list of the disaffected whom he proscribed. These were, Margaret, calling herself Queen of England, Edward her son, the Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, the Duke of Exeter, John, Earl of Oxford, John Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, William, Viscount de Beaumont, Hugh Courtney, and eleven others.†

The Queen was anxious to avoid an engagement in which she would labour under some disadvantages, and determined to retire into Wales, a country the situation of which was very favourable to her object, of putting off any fighting until the forces of Pembroke should join her army, and enable her to give battle to her enemies.‡

King Edward encamped at Marlborough, fifteen

* Biondi ; Habington ; Baker ; Magna Britannia ; Carew's Cornwall ; Henry ; Lingard ; Daniel ; Rapin ; Leland's Itinerary.

† Habington ; Rapin.

‡ Biondi ; Baker ; Rapin.

miles from Bath ; and by the interposition of his army, prevented any succours reaching the Queen. Upon this near approach, Queen Margaret was alarmed, and, thinking herself unsafe, left Bath : she withdrew to Bristol. Her next object was to pass the Severn at Gloucester ; but she was refused the passage of the river at that place by Lord Beauchamp, the governor of that city and castle. The Queen was much provoked at this, but, in her present circumstances, she dared not revenge herself ; and, passing by Gloucester, she proceeded to Berkley, in her way to Tewkesbury. The Queen also lost some of her artillery by the enemy, owing to the negligence of her own soldiers.

Now did King Edward hasten on, at the head of his troops, intent on charging the Lancastrians before they could obtain assistance from Wales. He had the advantage both in arms and ammunition, and succeeded in pursuing the Queen's forces so closely that he arrived in sight of them, before they could reach Tewkesbury.

Again the Queen became alarmed, so much so, that in a fit of desperation she began to consider the means of escape. Once again, the Duke of Somerset overcame her fears, and she gave up her intention of consulting her safety by flying into Wales, where a large army raised by the Earl of Pembroke was prepared to defend her, and resolved to remain where she was and run all hazards.* A council was called by her generals to deliberate on the propriety of passing the river, with the risk of beholding their rear-guard put to the route, or whether they should entrench themselves in the park adjoining the town, until they could procure assistance from Pembroke. Being quite engrossed by the consideration of her son's safety, Margaret advised the

* Baker ; Habington ; Biondi ; Rapin ; Holinshed ; Fosbroke ; Leland's Itinerary.

passage of the river, and many, from complacence to their Queen, supported this opinion. Somerset, however, opposed it, alleging that before the army could have time to pass, the enemy would be near enough to attack them; and that all those who should be so unfortunate as to be left behind would be cut to pieces; that this disaster, which would be unavoidable, would nevertheless be fatal to their cause, since it would be the means of discouraging those who were faithful to their interests. In short, he judged, that the deficiencies in their numbers might be made up by entrenching in the park, and by drawing lines which could counterbalance the enemy's superior numbers. This opinion was adopted, after some deliberation. The Duke of Somerset has been charged by historians with imprudence and rashness; but perhaps they were ignorant of the difficulty of passing such a river as the Severn with the enemy in their rear. It had been well had this general committed no other faults, the Queen's affairs might then have been more prosperous; but his advice obliged the Queen to fight the enemy upon unequal terms.*

The Lancastrians having taken the resolution to wait the approach of King Edward without moving, laboured all night in forming entrenchments around the park, which they accomplished before daybreak, so anxious were they to be prepared against a sudden attack.

When the forces of the King approached within sight of this encampment, it was resolved by him to begin the attack immediately, without allowing them time to establish themselves more firmly.

King Edward drew up his army in two lines, giving the command of the first to the Duke of Gloucester, and conducting the second himself, with the Duke of Clarence.

* Stow; Biondi: Habington; Rapin.

The Queen's army was divided into three bodies. The first, commanded by Somerset, was prepared to sustain the first attack, the second was led on by Prince Edward, who was regarded as Commander-in-Chief, having Lord Wenlock and the Lord Prior of St. John's under him, and the third was conducted by the Earl of Devonshire. From the opinion which King Edward had formed of the valour and self-conceit of the Duke of Somerset, he had made his own arrangements, hoping to entrap him. It was the belief of the King, that the Duke expected to repel the first attack, and that he intended to sally forth and improve the opportunity, should any disorder arise amongst the Yorkists; consequently, it was ordered that Gloucester, who was to commence the fight, should fall back suddenly if vigorously resisted, and that, when the enemy should pursue him, he should turn round, and attack them with renewed energy, and he was promised that the rest of the army should support him.

When Queen Margaret perceived the hour of battle could no longer be delayed, and that nothing but the utmost valour and intrepidity could compensate for the deficiency of her numbers, she resolved to harangue her troops, and endeavour to animate their courage. Taking the Prince her son with her, she rode through their ranks, her countenance exhibiting the utmost firmness and resolution, while her words inspired confidence of success. As the old writer hath it, "so
" skilfully did she conceal the wound which despair
" had given her, that it only bled inwardly.

" The Queen reminded them, that upon their valour
" that day depended the restoration of their imprisoned
" monarch to his throne, and to the enjoyment of his
" freedom; while for themselves would be secured, not
" only safety, but honour and recompense.

" That the wealth of the cities of their enemies would

“be their spoil, the kingdom their inheritance, which
 “would be divided amongst them, and the titles, in
 “which their enemies now gloried, would become their
 “reward. If alarmed at the inequality of numbers, she
 “assured them that the disparity was not so great, but
 “that by their courage, animated by the justice of their
 “cause, it might be overcome. She then bade them
 “behold their Prince, whose presence, she thought (for
 “as a fond mother she spoke) would make them ena-
 “moured of danger, and who, she said, would fight
 “amongst them, share their danger, and when possessed
 “of his throne would remember those to whom he was
 “indebted for it.” *

Then commenced the famed battle of Tewkesbury, which was fought on the 4th of May, 1471.

The attack upon the entrenchments was vigorously begun by the Duke of Gloucester. The Lancastrians bore the assault with great intrepidity, and, being prepared for the attack, they maintained their ground, whereupon the Duke of Gloucester retreated so hastily towards the second line, that Somerset believed that they were totally dismayed, and, yielding to the impetuosity of his disposition, and thinking to improve the disadvantage of the moment, he sallied from his entrenchments to attack the enemy, whom he expected to find in confusion; he also despatched orders to Wenlock to come immediately to his assistance. The Duke of Gloucester, who had by this time, according to the orders he had previously received, drawn up his men at a distance from the entrenchments, perceiving the advance of Somerset, came forth to meet him with great fury. This unexpected and vigorous attack, so much astonished the Lancastrians, that, perceiving no relief, they betook themselves, in confusion, to their camp. The Duke of Somerset was much enraged at

1471.
 Sandford;
 Toplis;
 Paston
 Letters;
 Howel;
 Baker;
 Milles's
 Catalogue;
 Rapin;
 Henry;
 Hume.

* Habington.

not being seconded by Wenlock, upon whose assistance he had depended in this attack upon Gloucester, and he now beheld him idle within the entrenchments. He had already doubted his fidelity, and being at this moment unable to restrain his fury, he rushed upon him, and with his battle-axe clove his head in pieces.* The young Prince, deprived, by this summary act of vengeance, of the assistance of Wenlock, knew not what to do, and Somerset was too much transported with passion either to issue proper orders or to enforce obedience.

The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, invading their camp caused an immense slaughter, and created the utmost confusion throughout the army. King Edward followed, and his presence threw the Lancastrians into such disorder, that they thought no longer of resistance, but all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. Thus was the army of the Queen entirely routed. The loss on her side has been estimated at 3,000† men, the two last lines having run away without fighting. The Earl of Devonshire and Sir John Beaufort, the brother of the Duke of Somerset, were slain, also Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hampden, Sir Robert Whittingham, Sir John Leukner, and 300 others.

The Prince of Wales was taken prisoner. The Duke of Somerset and about twenty other persons of distinction took refuge in the Abbey.

Thither King Edward repaired immediately after his victory, in order to return thanks to God for his success, and finding there a great many Lancastrians, he gave them all a free pardon. Some add that this

* Lord Wenlock had shown great fickleness in these civil wars. He fought bravely for the Lancastrians in the first battle of St. Alban's, but afterwards deserted to Edward (in 1459), who conferred many favours on him, and created him a baron.

† Some write that only 300 were slain.

favour was obtained through the intercessions of a priest. These promises, however, on the part of the conqueror, were as insincere, and as little to be relied on, as the former oaths of this Yorkist King. These sacred engagements and the rights of the sanctuary were inviolate only so long as his political position required it. The Lancastrians, on the contrary, had ever respected the sanctuary, to which even King Edward had, but just before been indebted, for the safety of his Queen and her children. On this occasion all was forgotten; and upon the third day after the battle a band of armed men rushed into the sanctuary, and, in violation of the King's promises and of the sanctity of the spot, they dragged out their unhappy victims and brought them into the presence of the Duke of Gloucester, sitting that day as Constable, and the Duke of Norfolk, as Marshal. Before these were arraigned and condemned to die, the Duke of Somerset, John Longstrother, Prior of St. John's, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Gervase Clifton, and several others, knights and esquires. Upon May 7th they were beheaded, along with twelve other knights, upon a scaffold set up in the middle of the town; but they were not dismembered, and the victors afterwards permitted their interment.* This engagement† took place eighteen days after the battle of Barnet. It was the twelfth battle since the beginning of the quarrel of the Roses.

The Earl of Warwick had subdued England in eleven days, and in twenty days King Edward re-

* Baker; Howel; Stow; Biondi; Milles's Catalogue; Henry; Blore's Rutland; Habington; Paston Letters; Holinshed; Toplis; Pennant; Leland's Collect.; Sandford; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Daniel; Barante; Hume; Lingard; Collinson's Somersetsh.; Biographie Universelle; Fabyan; Monstrelet; Philip de Comines.

† The scene of this battle, which destroyed the hopes of the Lancastrians, has received the name of "Bloody Meadow."—*Warner's Tour*.

covered it, but not until he had fought two desperate battles to effect his object.*

Most extraordinary it appears that, in England, within the short period of half a year, there was held one Parliament in which King Edward was proclaimed an usurper, and King Henry a lawful monarch; and another proclaiming King Edward a lawful monarch, and King Henry an usurper, to show us, adds the chronicler, that in human affairs there is nothing certain but uncertainty, nothing stable but instability.†

The Queen was discovered in a chariot half dead with grief, upon beholding this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and still being ignorant of the fate of her son. She was conducted to King Edward. Another account informs us, that it was not until two days after the battle, that she was found in a nunnery, where she had sought refuge, and was brought into the presence of the triumphant monarch, then at Worcester.‡

When Prince Edward appeared in the presence of the King he preserved an undaunted air, and would not be persuaded to make any submission derogatory to his birth. The King, surprised at his fearless countenance, inquired "how he dared to appear in arms against him;" to which the Prince replied, "that he had come to recover his own inheritance, which had been unjustly taken from him." His boldness excited the King's indignation, and, striking him on the mouth with his gauntlet, he turned away from him. This was the signal for the death of this unfortunate Prince, for, no sooner had the King withdrawn, than the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earl of Dorset, and Lord Hastings, falling upon him,

* Baker; Rapin; Philip de Comines; Henry.

† Baker.

‡ Holinshed; Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Paston Letters; Howel; Daniel; Baker; Femmes Célèbres; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Bayley's History of the Tower.

despatched him with their daggers. It has been supposed that King Edward had previously given orders for this cruel execution. There is some difference of opinion as to the death of this Prince, yet there is little doubt that, if he did not receive it from these noblemen, the act was done in their presence.

Some historians tell us that Prince Edward, having escaped from the battle, a reward of £500 sterling was offered by the King for his apprehension, dead or alive, engaging that should he be alive, he would not put him to death. Upon this promise Sir Richard Crofts brought him to King Edward, who, however, did not find this monarch disposed to keep his word. Prince Edward was but eighteen years of age when he was thus cruelly put to death.* He was buried without solemnity, with some persons of mean condition, in the church of Blackfriars, in Tewkesbury. In the same church were also interred those Lancastrians who had been beheaded after the late engagement.† Some of the monuments erected to their memory may still be seen. An altar tomb in the north wall of the nave has been ascribed to Lord Wenlock,‡ and a similar one at the upper end of the south aisle near the choir, under an arch, is that of the Duke of Somerset. In the middle, under the great tower, at the entrance of the choir, a large grey marble slab, with brass plates affixed (but which have been since removed), marked the spot where the remains of Prince Edward were thought to have been deposited.§ This Prince

* Tradition has preserved the memory of the spot where Prince Edward was murdered in a house on the north side of the Tolsey.—*Warner's Tour*.

† Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Howel; Baker; Holinshed; Lingard; Ormerod's Cheshire; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters; London Chron.; Caradoc of Llancarvan; Daniel; Barante; Philip de Comines; Monstrelet; Sharon Turner; Willis's Abbeys; Henry; Hume; Rapin; Jean de Troye; Fabyan; Villaret.

‡ The effigy of Lord Wenlock in full proportion is lying thereon.

§ Some state that Prince Edward's remains were thrown into one common grave with others who had fallen in this battle.

deserved a better fate ; he had excellent qualities of mind and heart, which caused him to be much regretted. It has been remarked that every one who had participated in this murder came to an untimely end.

To the monastery and convent of Tewkesbury Henry VII. afterwards granted the parochial church of Towton, to pray for the souls of this Duke of Somerset, his brother John, and others, who lost their lives in the quarrel of the Roses.

It may be well to remark that, in these turbulent times, the remains of the dead seldom found their resting-place in the vaults of their ancestors, and often those who in life were nearest allied, were by death widely separated. Thus was it with Sir John Wenlock, who, in 1461, when he was created Baron Wenlock, had erected a chapel in the parish church of Luton, in Bedfordshire, where there was an inscription and a portrait of Sir John, with the arms of the family. In this place it is probable that Lady Wenlock was buried, and that Lord Wenlock intended it for his own place of sepulture.*

The renowned Chancellor, Sir John Fortescue, was taken prisoner in the battle of Tewkesbury. He had accompanied Queen Margaret and her son throughout their last unfortunate expedition. The life of this venerable sage was spared by King Edward, who afterwards restored him to freedom. He also granted him his estates, and admitted him to his favour. While in Scotland with King Henry, during the time of his exile, he had written a treatise in proof of the claims of the House of Lancaster. With the same ability he now composed for the rival monarch, a second treatise in support of the title of the House

* Willis's *Abbeys* : Sandford ; Toplis ; Fox's *Monks and Monast.* ; *Eccles. Hist.* ; *Magna Britannia* ; Pennant.

of York, and this, we are assured, was the price of his pardon.*

King Edward entered London on the 21st of May, and, in order to make his triumph resemble those of the Romans, he brought with him his chief captive, the afflicted Queen Margaret. She had lost every hope of re-ascending the throne, and by the death of her son was deprived of her greatest consolation. A new cause for grief awaited her when she reached the Tower, whither she was conducted, she was not permitted to see King Henry ; and there she remained a prisoner several years. Thus left to her own reflections, it had been well for Margaret could she have been able, like her noble sire, to seek the consolations of religion, of literature, and of the arts ; but her life had been a scene of activity, even from her childhood, and her tastes were rather those inspired by busy life. With her son she had now lost the spring for action, and even her mind became captive to her situation. She sunk into despondency.†

King Edward had been indebted to the Archbishop of York for many services, yet he was not at ease on his throne while Neville enjoyed his liberty. This prelate had hunted at Windsor with the King, who had promised him, in return, to hunt with him at the Moor, in Hertfordshire. Preparations were made on a grand scale for the royal visitor. All the plate which the Archbishop had concealed since the time of his brother's death, had been collected for this occasion, and all the chief nobility of the neighbourhood had been invited to partake of the banquet. The King, however, commanded this prelate to come to Windsor, and he was

* Rot. Parl. ; Henry ; Lingard.

† Habington ; Holinshed ; Baudier ; Female Worthies ; Hume ; Rapin ; Henry ; Baker ; Daniel ; Fabyan ; Villaret ; Bayley's History of the Tower of London.

then arrested on a charge of having lent money to the Earl of Oxford. The revenue of his bishopric was seized, and his valuable plate confiscated: his mitre was converted into a crown, and his jewels appropriated by the King and the Prince of Wales. The Archbishop lingered for three years in prison, partly in England, and partly at Guisnes. He recovered his freedom only a few weeks before his death, in 1476. This is a marked instance of ingratitude in the character of Edward IV.*

Thomas Neville, called the Bastard of Falconbridge,† 1471. who was a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster, had been Vice-Admiral of the Channel during the time of King Henry's restoration, but lost this office on the change of the dynasty. He then turned pirate; but having lands, and some influence in the county of Kent, he collected a considerable army and attempted to surprise London, with a view to rescue King Henry from the Tower. He was repulsed, and withdrew with his troops into Kent. Lord Scales, with the assistance of Nicholas Faunte, Mayor of Canterbury, contrived means with fair words only, to prevail on Falconbridge to return to Blackheath. From them, however, he stole away in the night with 600 horsemen to Rochester, and after to Sandwich, where he awaited the King's coming. He submitted to King Edward, and was not only pardoned, but also knighted, and again appointed Vice-Admiral, in this year, 1471. From this time his career was short, for between the 13th and 29th of the following September he was beheaded, but for what offence is unknown. His head, and the heads of nine others, placed on spears, were exhibited on London

* Leland Collect.: Stow; Rymer: Bayley's Tower of London; Lingard.

† He was a natural son of William, Lord Falconbridge. One account of his death is, that he was beheaded by the Duke of Gloucester in Yorkshire.

bridge, exposed to the birds and elements, until the bones only were left. It is probable that those who shared his fate were some of his own men from Kent, thirty of whom we are told, joined him in his enterprise.*

The King granted to William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, who had been a staunch friend of the Lancastrians, a complete pardon. He did not exhibit the same generosity towards his rival, Henry the Sixth. After having twice spared the life of this monarch, doubtless on account of his innocence and simplicity of character, King Edward began to fear that he should not enjoy any confirmed peace whilst Henry was alive. He would perhaps have suffered him to die a natural death, had not the repeated attempts to re-enthroné him pointed out to him his own insecurity. He therefore resolved to despatch him, and Queen Margaret's last attempt to recover the crown, hastened the catastrophe.

There is little doubt that, had Queen Margaret won the last battle, and taken King Edward prisoner, she would have put him to death; but the good fortune of this monarch, caused the same fate to fall upon her husband and her son, and she was herself only indebted to her sex, for her preservation.

1471. It was on the night of the 21st of May, 1471, of that same day upon which the King had entered London triumphantly, and his royal captive, the Lancastrian Queen, had been consigned to the Tower, but a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury, that the good and meek King Henry the Sixth, while engaged in his devotions, in his prison in the Tower, was put to death. It was generally believed that he was stabbed with a dagger, by the hand of the Duke of Gloucester,

* Paston Letters; Lingard; Bentley's *Excerpta. Hist.*; Miss Lawrence; Mackay's *Thames*.

who has been almost unanimously called a cruel, and a bloodthirsty prince.*

The great hall in the Wakefield tower has been said, by tradition, to have been the scene of Henry's murder.

To appease the public, it was reported that King Henry had died of grief. His body was brought to St. Paul's a few days after, with guards and torches, in an open coffin, barefaced, where it rested a day uncovered, and here the body bled afresh; it was thence conveyed to the church of Blackfriars, where it again bled; it was then taken in a boat to Chertsey Abbey,† and without ceremony, "there being neither priest nor clerk, torch nor taper, saying or singing, "he was there interred," within the cloisters.

King Henry's corpse was afterwards removed by King Edward's order to Windsor, and buried in St. George's Chapel, in the south aisle, between the choir and the altar, under the arch on the south side, but no monument placed over it.

The remains of King Edward were afterwards interred in the same chapel, which he had himself rebuilt.

Thus did the rival monarchs at last repose in death under the same roof.‡ This circumstance was suggestive of the following lines from the poet's pen:—

" Let softest strains ill-fated Henry mourn,
 " And palms eternal flourish round his urn.
 " Here, o'er the martyr King, the marble weeps,
 " And fast beside him once fear'd Edward sleeps ;

* This character of Gloucester has been given by his enemies, historians who favoured the House of Lancaster.

† Chertsey Abbey was founded for Benedictine monks, in 666, and was dissolved by Henry VIII. in 1538.

‡ Sandford ; Stow ; Howel ; Toplis ; Baker ; Grafton : Milles's Catalogue ; Fabyan ; Rapiu ; Hume ; Pennant's London ; Henry : Lingard : Monfaucon : Londiniana : Philip de Comines ; Rous of Warwick ; Mag. Britannia Ashmole's Berkshire.

“ Whom not th’ extended Albion could contain,
“ From old Belerium to the northern main.
“ The grave unites ; where e’en the great find rest,
“ And blended lie th’ oppressor and th’ opprest !”*

The reputed sanctity of Henry VI., and the desire of Henry VII. to establish his right to the crown upon the Lancastrian descent, caused this monarch to apply to the Papal See for his canonization. It was his intention to found a chapel at Windsor to the memory of Henry VI., and to place in it a stately monument over his remains (which were said to have wrought miracles); but the abbot and convent of Westminster at this time sent a petition to the King, claiming to have King Henry’s body removed to their church, that being the place chosen by this monarch himself during his lifetime.

The aged workmen of the abbey well remembered the visits of King Henry for the purpose of fixing the place for his sepulture. It was during that unhappy period, between the battles of St. Alban’s and that of Wakefield, that the King frequented the abbey at all hours of day or night to decide on the spot where he should be interred. He came at one time between seven and eight o’clock in the evening from his palace, accompanied by his Confessor, Thomas Manning, who was afterwards Dean of Windsor. He was received by the abbot by torchlight at the postern, and they went together round the Confessor’s Chapel. It was proposed to move the tomb of Eleanor, when the King replied “that he could in no wise do it,” and when this was pressed upon him, he fell into one of his fits of silence, and gave no reply. He then proceeded to the Lady Chapel, where he beheld his mother’s coffin in its neglected state. It was proposed that it should be “more honourably apparelled,” and

* Pope.

that he should be laid between it and the altar in the same chapel, but Henry gave no answer.

The remains of Queen Catherine had been placed in a rude coffin in "this chapel, in a 'badly apparelled
" 'state, the body open to view; and there she remained
" 'many years.' When this chapel was destroyed by
" her grandson, it was placed on the right side of her
" husband, and so it continued to be seen, the bones
" being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh-like
" scrapings of fine leather. This strange neglect was
" probably the result of the disfavour into which her
" memory had fallen from her ill-assorted marriage,
" but the legends of the abbey tell us, that it was by
" her own appointment in regard of her disobedience
" to her husband, for being delivered of her son,
" Henry VI., at Windsor, the place which he for-
" bade."*

On another day, he visited the Confessor's Chapel, with Flete, the prior of the abbey. Henry inquired of him the names of the kings whose tombs were around him, till he came to the grave of his father, where he prayed. He then entered the chantry, and surveyed the whole chapel for one hour. He was asked if the tomb of Henry V. should be pushed a little on one side, and his own placed beside it; when, with more than his customary regal spirit, he exclaimed, "Nay, let him
" alone; he lieth like a noble prince—I would not
" trouble him." The abbot proposed at last that the great reliquary should be moved from its position at that time, close beside the shrine, so as thus, to leave a vacant space for another tomb.

The King anxiously inquired, whether any other spot could be found where the relics might be deposited, and being informed that they might be placed at the back side of the altar, he then marked with his foot

* Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

seven feet, and turning to the nobles who were with him, "Lend me your staff," he said to Lord Cromwell; "is it not fitting I should have a place here, where my father and my ancestors lie, near St. Edward?" Then, pointing with the staff to the spot, he said, "Here methinketh is a convenient place;" and again more emphatically, and with the peculiar asseveration, which, in his pious lips, took the place of the savage oaths of the Plantagenets, "Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lie! Here is a good place for us."

The master mason of the abbey, named Thirsk, then traced with an iron instrument the circuit of the grave. The relics were removed three days after, and the tomb was ordered. The "marbler" (or statuary) and the coppersmith were paid forty groats for their instalment, and one groat was given to the workmen, who long remembered their master's conversation by this token. The religious establishments of Chertsey and of Windsor disputed the claim of Westminster, and an examination of the parties took place in the King's presence in council. A decision was given on the third hearing unanimously, in favour of Westminster, and not long after, the license was obtained from Pope Julius II. for the removal of King Henry's remains to the abbey; but the intention of canonisation was given up, the King being unwilling to yield to the exorbitant demands of the Court of Rome.*

In the will of Henry VIII. there was mention made of his design to repair the tombs of his predecessors, Henry VI. and Edward IV. The former being still in St. George's Chapel, we may affirm that this monarch's remains were never taken away from Windsor.

During the civil wars, the tomb of King Henry VI., as well as that of his rival, Edward IV., were despoiled of their ornaments, and nothing now remains to mark

* Londiniana; Baker; Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

the place of sepulture of the meek monarch than the royal arms beneath an arch.* No monument, indeed, was needed for this pious king, although by some regarded with contempt, beholding in him but a weak and imbecile sovereign. Yet did he become distinguished by good acts and patient endurance, as a Christian and a saint. To the memory of this holy king no monument was ever raised; and in allusion to this, Walpole has written the following lines:—

“ But say, what shrine? My eyes in vain require
 “ Th’ engraven brass, and monumental spire;
 “ Henry knows none of these. Above, around!
 “ Behold where’er this pensile quarry’s found,
 “ Or swelling into vaulted roofs its weight,
 “ Or shooting columns into Gothic state,—
 “ Where’er this fane extends its lofty frame,
 “ Behold the monument to Henry’s name!”

The noble works of art of his day were themselves monuments of lasting praise, if such were needed, to the memory of this good king.†

Henry VI. died in the fiftieth year of his age, having reigned thirty-eight years before he was dethroned, and seven months after his restoration. He was twice crowned, and twice buried.‡

This monarch was revered as a martyr, and it was whispered that miracles were wrought at his tomb. In St. Leonard’s church, Norwich, was an image of Henry VI., which was visited by pilgrims from all parts, who, being afflicted with various diseases, repaired thither in the hope of their cure. Thus this image became famous, and the church in which it was placed.§

The virtues of King Henry, and the endowments of his mind, were indeed enough to make him a saint. He was so devout as to think nothing adversity which

* Londiniana.

† Walpole.

‡ Toplis; Rapin.

§ Parkin’s Norwich.

was not a hindrance to devotion. His confessor said of him that, "in ten years' confession he never found "that he had done, or said anything for which he "might justly be enjoined penance;" and on this account Henry VII. would have had him canonized for a saint.*

Upon one occasion King Henry is said to have foretold the exaltation of the Earl of Richmond, who being brought to him by Jasper, Earl of Pembroke when scarcely ten years of age, this monarch, after regarding him for some time, said to the lords about him, "Lo! this is he to whom both we and our adversaries, having the possession of all things, shall "hereafter give place"—a prophecy so many years after fulfilled, that it was the more remarkable.

Henry has been described as tall, slight, and handsome in person, and of a beautiful countenance. His hair was of a moderate length; he had no beard, or whiskers, and wore broad shoes. He usually had on a cap, or hood of red velvet, which was preserved a long time afterwards upon his tomb, and it was by the superstitious thought to cure the headache of all those who put it on.†

This meek and gentle monarch of a turbulent and rebellious people, whom during a long life he was unable to rule, was yet of so virtuous and estimable a character that he deserved the universal admiration of posterity. He has been described as "a man of pure simplicity of mind; truthful almost "to a fault. He never made a promise he did not "keep, and never knowingly did an injury to any-one. Rectitude and justice ruled his conduct in all "public affairs. Devout himself, he sought to cherish a "love for religion in others. He would exhort his

* Baker.

† Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Baker; Strutt; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

“ visitors, particularly the young, to pursue virtue and
“ eschew evil. He considered sports and pleasures
“ of the world as frivolous, and devoted his leisure to
“ reading the Scriptures and the old chronicles.

“ Most decorous himself when attending public
“ worship, he obliged his courtiers to enter the sacred
“ edifice without swords, or spears, and to refrain from
“ interrupting the devotion of others by conversing
“ within its precincts. He exhorted his clergy in
“ frequent letters, and charged them to consider their
“ trust as emanating from the authority of the Most
“ High.

“ He delighted in female society, and blamed the
“ immodest dress which left exposed the maternal
“ parts of the neck.” When he observed this on one
occasion, at a masque proposed for his entertainment,
he exclaimed, “ Fie, fie ! forsooth you are much to
“ blame ; ” and he hastened from the apartment. “ Fond
“ of encouraging youth in the path of virtue, he would
“ frequently converse familiarly with the scholars from
“ his college of Eton, when they visited his servants
“ at Windsor Castle. He generally concluded with
“ this touching address, adding a present of money :
“ ‘ Be good lads, meek and docile, and attend to your
“ ‘ religion.’ ”

“ He was liberal to the poor, and lived among his
“ dependents as a father among his children. He
“ readily forgave those who had offended him. When
“ one of his servants had been robbed, he sent him
“ a present of twenty nobles, desiring him to be more
“ careful of his property in future, and requesting him
“ to forgive the thief. Passing one day from St.
“ Alban’s to Cripplegate, he saw a quarter of a man
“ impaled there for treason. Greatly shocked, he
“ exclaimed, ‘ Take it away, take it away. I will
“ ‘ have no man so cruelly treated on my account.’ ”

“Hearing that four men of noble birth were about to suffer for treason to him, he sent them his pardon with all expedition to the place of execution.

“In his dress he was plain, and would not wear the shoes with the upturned points, then so much in fashion and considered the distinguishing mark of a man of quality.

“He was careful to select proper persons in the distribution of church preferment, and, anxious to promote the real happiness of his two half-brothers, the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, he had them carefully brought up under the most upright and virtuous ecclesiastics.

“Such a King in more peaceable times would have been a blessing to his country; but in those turbulent days, when personal prowess was considered the first of virtues, it is not to be wondered, that he should have been looked upon almost in the light of an idiot.” *

No monarch could be less fitted to wield a sceptre than Henry VI.; for, being made King at nine months old, his knowledge and skill in affairs of state did not “grow with his growth,” neither did he in maturer years evince the least capacity for the regulation of a people, who, being attached to him as their lawful sovereign, yet had become discontented, and rebellious.

His mind was so weak that all counsels appeared to him equally good, being unable to perceive the consequences of any advice given to him.† This natural weakness totally unfitting him to govern, Henry yielded himself up to the guidance of others, some-

* This extract is from one who had well studied the King's character from personal observation.—*J. Blackman; Hearne: Otterbourne; Wethamstede.*

† Habington; Rapin; Hume.

times to that of Queen Margaret, at other times, to that of the most ambitious of his subjects, without making any resistance, or the least effort to assert his own power.* The great deficiencies in King Henry for the exercise of regal sway were, however, supplied by all the virtues of the man. He was chaste, temperate, meek, and holy, and so good and amiable, that he was beloved by his people, and even by his enemies. His disposition was so forgiving, and benevolent, and such was his love of peace, that he sought on all occasions to conciliate the contending parties; and would always try pacific measures before he consented to engage in warfare. It is even said of him that he did himself a violence when he had recourse to arms. When the weakness of his understanding made him at times appear contemptible in the eyes of those who ought to have revered his authority, the purity and innocence of his life preserved their affection to him. Thus, the victorious Yorkists, when wreaking their vengeance on their most deadly enemies, were seen to fall on their knees before their humbled and unfortunate monarch, who was their prisoner, and the greatest object of their pity; then did they conduct him respectfully, and with all the dignity due to his rank, to the metropolis. They even preserved, at a time when they grasped at absolute power, that show of decorum and propriety due to majesty, which nothing but their sympathy in his misfortunes, and affection for his person could have extorted. His integrity, modesty, and patience were wonderful, taking and suffering all losses, chances, displeasures, and such worldly torments in good part, and with a patient manner, as though they had chanced by his own fault, or negligent oversight.

King Henry abhorred cruelty and injustice, and he desired neither riches, nor honour. He studied only

* Malcolm's Manners and Customs; Hume; Lingard; Rapin.

for the health of his soul, the saving whereof he esteemed the greatest wisdom, and the loss thereof the greatest folly that could be. He might have been called unhappy, had he not been endued with such piety as raised him above his fortune, and united him to his God. By some he was regarded as a saint, and his virtues were extolled in order to render more odious the King who had robbed him of his crown and life. His manners were simple and inoffensive, and it was a peculiarity in his character that he did not swear in common conversation, and reproved the practice in all those who approached his person.

The conduct of King Henry when deprived of his crown was exemplary, and when reduced to the level of his subjects, he bore his misfortunes with such meekness and patience, as totally disarmed his successor of any desire to take away his life.

The indignity with which this monarch was treated by the Earl of Warwick, and others, reflects but little credit on the manners and feelings of the age. Many great offences Henry willingly forgave; and one day, having received a blow from a wicked person, who sought to take his life, he only said, "Forsooth, ye do wrong yourself, more than me, so to smite the Lord's anointed." He had many injuries offered him, yet he never sought to revenge himself, but gave thanks to God, that he did send them to punish his sins in this life, that he might escape punishment in the life to come.

King Henry had a singular devotion to Saint Edmond, and we are told, that, "he nowhere enjoyed so much comfort, peace, and joy, as in his retreats in the monastery of St. Edmondsbury."

This monarch is universally described as amiable, and although of a weak understanding, as possessing uncommon goodness of heart. As a private individual

he might have shone conspicuous, but as a king his virtues were lost sight of, in the evident deficiency of the sterner requisites for regal power.*

* Biondi ; Habington ; Hall ; Baker ; Milles's Catalogue ; Howel ; Lingard ; Henry ; Hume ; Rapin ; Malcolm ; Camden's Remains ; Butler's Lives ; Gent.'s Magazine.

CHAPTER VIII.

“ To be a queen in bondage is more vile
“ Than is a slave in base servility ;
“ For princes should be free.”—SHAKESPEARE.

“ Now Margaret
“ Must strike her sail, and learn awhile to serve
“ Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
“ Great Albion’s queen in former golden days ;
“ But now mischance hath trod my title down,
“ And with dishonour laid me on the ground ;
“ Where I must take like seat unto my fortune,
“ And to my humble seat conform myself.”

SHAKESPEARE.

Queen Margaret imprisoned in the Tower, also at Windsor and at Wallingford—René—His age and misfortunes—The death of Charles of Anjou, also that of Ferri de Vaudemont, and of Nicolas of Anjou—Louis XI. seizes on Anjou—René retires to Provence—René’s pursuits, tastes, and disposition—René’s letter to Queen Margaret—Louis XI. meets René at Lyons—He appoints Charles of Maine his heir—Manœuvre of Louis—The cession of the rights of René—His conditions—Louis enters into a treaty with Edward IV.—Queen Margaret is ransomed—She departs from England—Having renounced her claims on England, she yields to Louis her rights in Anjou and Provence—Queen Margaret’s melancholy—René at Gardane—He instructs his granddaughter—The defeat and death of Charles the Bold by the Duke of Lorraine—René’s last illness and death—The will of René—The Provençaux oppose the removal of his corpse—His body is carried to Angers—His monument and epitaph, statues, coat of arms—The institutions of René—His character—Charles of Anjou his successor—The death of Charles of Anjou—Louis XI. his heir.

THE vanquished Queen Margaret, consigned to the solitude of a prison, was overcome by melancholy, and during five years endured a comfortless captivity. Her heroic spirit, which had braved every danger, and sustained such great trials, no longer bore up under the

pressure of misfortune. She had not even a ray of hope to cheer the future, being now deprived of her husband, her son, her friends, and of her kingdom, and no other prospect before her than of an endless imprisonment. At first she was confined in the Tower of London, where she was treated with the utmost harshness, until by the kind intercession of Elizabeth Woodville, who probably retained a lively recollection of the benefits which her royal mistress had bestowed upon her, while in attendance on her formerly at court, she obtained through her compassion some mitigation of her cruel treatment. The widowed Queen was next imprisoned at Windsor, in 1472, and afterwards removed to Wallingford Castle, where she was placed under the charge of Alice Chancer, Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, one of her early friends, whose residence was at Ewelin, in Oxfordshire, not far from Wallingford. Doubtless it must have been consoling to the unhappy Queen to receive the sympathy of her former companion and friend, who in the joyous hours of her maidenhood had, with her ill-fated husband, conducted her to the shores of England, and whose bereavement Margaret had so deeply felt.*

1472.

Five marks weekly was all the allowance granted to her from King Edward for her support, and that of her servants. This seems an inconsiderable sum compared to that allowed to the Duke of Orleans, which was 400 marks annually for his maintenance. This shows that she was no longer treated as a Queen.

Thus this unfortunate heroine passed the time of her widowhood, a season always sorrowful and desolate, but to her it must have been truly unhappy, having not the slightest hope of regaining her freedom.†

The “good King René,” her father, was now stricken

* Paston Letters ; Ridpath ; Lingard ; Toplis.

† Toplis ; Lingard ; Ridpath ; Paston Letters.

in years, and worn out with a series of misfortunes, yet, he was tenderly attached to his daughter Margaret, and much distressed at her imprisonment. He found himself, however, unable to effect her liberation, or to assist her as he anxiously desired.

He was not in a condition to pay such a ransom, as would probably be demanded for her liberty. He had throughout his life been very necessitous, and was now in greater distress than ever ; for, although he had been of great service to the French in the conquest of Normandy, and in their endeavours to expel the English from France, Louis XI. had treated him with great ingratitude.

René had mourned the death of his son John, Duke of Calabria. This loss had occurred at the same epoch as the disasters of Queen Margaret, and the sensible heart of René was greatly afflicted. Soon after this, his brother, Charles of Anjou, followed to the grave ; and next Ferri de Vaudemont, Duke of Lorraine. Nicholas, son of John of Anjou, also died ; his death happened on the 24th of May,* 1473 ; he was but twenty-five years of age.† He had been for some time before, in treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, for the hand of his daughter Mary, his only child, and the presumptive heir to his dominions. It appears, that Louis XI. had offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Duke Nicholas, who had broken his faith, preferring the daughter of Burgundy, the King's vassal. Thus the marriage became obnoxious to Louis, and the young man's sudden death, just at the time when there seemed no longer any obstacle to this union, gave occasion to the report, that he died by poison, administered by the same hand that had taken off the Duke of Berri.

Monstrelet tells us, however, that this Duke Nicholas

* Monstrelet says he died in July.

† Bodin ; Monstrelet ; Habington ; Female Worthies ; Paston Letters.

1472.
Godard
Faultrier.

1473.
Bodin ;
Paston
Letters ;
Monstrelet.

died of the plague, in his duchy of Lorraine, and adds that, by his death the male line of René of Anjou became extinct; and the inheritance of Lorraine passed to Yoland, the eldest daughter of René, whose husband had lately died.

René II., Count of Vandemont, became Duke of Lorraine; but some write, that this crown was offered to René, who rejected it in favour of his grandson.

The Duke of Burgundy, probably disappointed at the failure of his project, for uniting the duchies of Burgundy and Lorraine by the marriage of his daughter, very unjustly imprisoned René II., but was soon obliged to liberate him.*

King René at this time of sorrow and regret withdrew to his castle of Baugé, where he sought the most perfect quiet, and the sweetest recollections. Here he thought he might mourn in peace. He wandered by its river, then traversed the rooms of his castle, then repaired to seek peace in its chapel, alternately he prayed, and wept, and then silently meditating, appeared to seek "another and a better country." His features seemed to be changed by grief; but, alas! the good King René's time for sorrowing was not yet over. He had still renewed troubles, and even his cherished solitude was about to be ravished from him, and while this aged monarch was seeking strength to sustain his afflictions, his nephew, Louis XI., meditated the seizure of Anjou, under the most unjust pretexts. This artful king, abusing the kindness of his relative, had denounced René to the parliament of Paris as a conspirator, ordaining that he should be criminally sued, and expecting that he might thus obtain a pretext for confiscating his estates to his own advantage. The parliament, however, being acquainted with the prudence

* Paston Letters; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Monstrelet; Jean de Troye; Hist. Général de Provence.

and good conduct of the Duke of Anjou, would not follow up this unjust accusation.

1474.
Bodin ;
Godard
Faultrier.

The King of France then, without any form of procedure, seized upon Anjou, and established a strong garrison in the castle of Angers, giving the command of it to William of Cerazai, who became first mayor of Angers. Louis was at this time, marching at the head of 50,000 men against Francis II., Duke of Brittany, and he made it his pretext, that King René was in alliance with the Bretons. He even feigned great rage at this. René, meanwhile, although only seven leagues distant, at his castle of Baugé, was so far from suspecting it, that hearing the King was at Angers, he ordered his horse, intending to go there to congratulate him. His servants, knowing his love for his country of Anjou, dared not at first to tell him the truth ; but, finding he determined on going to Angers, one of his familiar friends declared to him the facts. This good prince, accustomed to control his affections, which of late had been much tried by his misfortunes, bore this shock with fortitude, and he even finished the painting upon which he was engaged at the time. Afterwards his affliction overcame him for a brief space, and he was shocked at this new, and unexpected instance of his relative's unkindness. His piety, however, made him seek the strength he needed. "The will of God be done," said he, "who hath given me all, and can take all away from me at his pleasure. The King shall have no war with me, for my age is no longer suitable to arms. I have determined to live the rest of my time in this world in peace and repose of spirit, and shall do so if possible."*

René has been reproached by several historians because when the news of his loss of Anjou was brought to him, being engaged in painting a bartarelle, a kind

* Baudier ; Habington ; Anquetil ; Bodin.

of partridge of which he was very fond, he did not discontinue his work, and showed no other regret, than that, of being obliged to leave for ever a country to which he was sincerely attached. These writers say, that in the pursuit of the pleasing arts this prince had forgotten the duties of the sovereign, whose first care should be the preservation of his state.

Again they say, that René possessed all the qualities valuable to a private individual, but scarcely any of those which are indispensable to kings. The injustice of these opinions will be apparent, when we come to speak of the great talents of King René, and especially of the numerous, and essential benefits he conferred on the states over which he ruled, and of the love his subjects bore him. He showed, indeed, great command of his passions and resignation of soul on many occasions.

When so abruptly driven from the cradle of his forefathers, René wisely resolved to sustain this outrage with stoical firmness, and not long after, he retired to Aix, in Provence, carrying with him the regrets and benedictions of all ranks of the Angevins, by whom he was cherished as the best of princes, or rather as a father.

The affectionate reception he had so frequently experienced from the Provençaux, determined René upon fixing his abode amongst them. He devoted himself to a country life, and, as in the days of Saturn and Rhea, he was sometimes seen, crook in hand, guarding his sheep, along with his Queen, Jeanne de Laval. He likewise amused himself in the cultivation of poetry, painting, and gardening, and in this manner the good King passed beneath the clear sky of Provence the remaining years of his life.

The treatment of Louis was, however, more deeply felt by him, as it was altogether unexpected from one,

whom he believed to be his friend; but, perceiving no remedy, René resolved to submit with patience.*

The tastes of René, which had been formed in the school of adversity, differed much from those which usually characterise princes.

In his country house at Gardane, where he passed the summer, he lived without pomp, everything around him wearing such an air of antiquity that, upon glancing over the inventory of the furniture of his dwelling, one cannot help thinking of Fabricius or Socrates. The same simplicity distinguished him at Marseilles, where he sometimes withdrew during the winter season. He was often seen walking quite alone on the port, or conversing familiarly with any one he might chance to meet, and this, at the time, when the sun, so fine in that climate, shed that gentle heat, which in the Basse Provence reanimates nature, even when dormant elsewhere. Thus, arose the saying amongst his subjects, of “*se chauffer à la cheminée du roi René*,” to warm oneself by King René’s chimney, when any one sought the warmth of the sun’s rays.† His palace neither exhibited splendour nor magnificence. His annual expenditure only amounted to 15,000 florins, or 144,000 livres, and the strictest accounts were rendered.‡

In his travels, René would not always lodge at the house of a lord, or a bishop; he sometimes preferred the humble roof of a private individual whom he loved; and when he wished to enhance the favour, he would do so by sketching his portrait as an honourable monument on the door, or the wall of the chamber, with this verse under it—

“*Sicelidum Regis effigies est ista Renati.*”

“*This is the portrait of René, King of Sicily.*”

* Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier.

† “*Or when seeking shelter from the sun in King René’s walk.*”

‡ Hist. Général de Provence; Bodin.

René took great pleasure in being in the country, not for the enjoyment of sporting, but for the sake of promoting agriculture, and of comforting his people, by the advancement of works of utility.*

Amidst his various occupations nothing disturbed the peace of mind of René, but the recollection of the miserable situation of his daughter Margaret, whom he was unable to release from her prison, and with whose sorrow he could so well sympathise, having himself suffered a severe captivity.

It was at the time that René inhabited his modest castle of Gardane, in Provence, that he addressed the following letter to his unfortunate daughter, Queen Margaret, and which would seem to have been dictated by the most profound melancholy.

“My daughter! may God assist you in your counsels; for we should rarely expect the help of man under the reverses of fortune! When you desire to alleviate your misfortunes, think of mine. They are great, my child, and yet I offer you consolation.”†

René could not expect, after the treatment he had received from the French King, to obtain from him anything on the score of friendship or generosity. He therefore endeavoured to purchase the favour of Louis by giving up the succession of Provence, upon the death of his nephew, as the price of his daughter's freedom. The conditions on which he made this cession were, that Louis should pay to the Queen of Sicily, René's second wife, in case she should survive him, “a reasonable and sufficient dower;” that he should procure the liberation of his daughter Margaret, Queen of England; and that he should assign to her an annual pension in France, to enable her to live in a manner suitable to her rank and dignity.

1475.
Baudin :
Paston
Letters :
Henry.

* Bodin ; Hist. Général de Provence.
VOL. II.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

According to this arrangement, Louis entered into a treaty with King Edward IV., at Amiens, for the ransom of Queen Margaret, which was finally concluded on the 13th of November, in the same year, 1475. It was then stipulated that the King of France should pay the sum of 50,000 crowns of gold to Edward, and that Queen Margaret of Anjou should renounce all claim to any portion, jewels, or other things to which she might have, or pretend to have a right, through her marriage with King Henry the Sixth. King Edward resigned all power over his captive, and Louis bound himself never to make any demand in her favour.*

Thus this unfortunate Queen was released from her imprisonment, and on the 29th of January, 1476, was delivered up by King Edward's ambassador, Sir Thomas de Montgomery, to John d'Hangest sieur de Jenlis, and John Raguenet, Receiver-General of Normandy, who was appointed by the King of France to receive her at Rouen.

Queen Margaret readily made the renunciation required of her, giving up all her claims upon England. She also ceded to Louis XI., at this time, viz., on the 1st of March after her liberation in 1476, all her rights to the property and pretensions of her father. Full of gratitude to her deliverer for having advanced so much money for her ransom, as well as in consideration of the essential services he had before rendered to her and her son, by the loan of both money and ships in her last expedition to recover her crown, Queen Margaret by this act yielded up to the French King all the rights she then held, or might hold, in the

* Biondi ; Toplis ; Baker ; Howel ; Jean de Troye ; Anquetil ; Paston Letters ; Carte ; Habington ; Ridpath ; Rapin ; Baudier ; Monstrelet ; Bodin ; Hume ; Lingard ; Female Worthies ; Henry ; Russi's Contes de Provence ; Toplis ; Bayley's Tower of London.

1475.

Biondi ;
Toplis ;
Henry ;
Monstrelet.

1476.

1476.
Carte ;
Daniel.

duchies of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar, and in the county of Provence.*

The ambitious and once powerful Queen Margaret thus became divested of all her worldly grandeur, and deprived of every hope of regaining her former possessions. She beheld herself at once despoiled of all accorded by established law to her in England, and of every privilege she could have enjoyed from her birth, and from the succession of the House of Anjou, of which she was the sole heiress. Her life had been a scene of constant change and vicissitude, and she had not only lost her crown, but had endured the severest afflictions.

From this period either her spirit was entirely broken, or she considered it useless to endeavour to raise herself above her misfortunes. Overcome with grief and melancholy she withdrew to the town of Aix, where she sought retirement and tranquillity for the remainder of her existence, which had hitherto been so much disturbed by calamity.

It may be well imagined that while in this state of dejection, Queen Margaret could be but little disposed to share in and sympathise with the rural delights of her aged father; yet she continued at Aix, where René was residing, and so long as he lived she dwelt there, "in absolute seclusion from every kind of "business." One historian tells us that the regret of this Queen was not occasioned by the loss of her kingdom, or even of her husband, but by the death of her son, of that beloved son, the recollection of whom accompanied her to the grave. The last six or seven years of her life were the most tranquil since her marriage. Her adversities had made her feel the sweetness of repose, which, otherwise, was not agree-

* Carte; Hume; Baudier; Daniel; Habington; Toplis; Paston Letters; Jean de Troye; Monfaucon; Bodin; Henry; Biondi.

able to the disposition of Margaret, who was ever after melancholy and unhappy.* She might have exclaimed with the poet—

“No, no ; our joys away like shadows slide,
“But sorrows firm in memory abide.”

The similarity in the fortunes of René and his daughter, and the joy of again beholding his beloved child released from prison, must have awakened in him all the tenderness of parental affection ; and who could better sympathise with the fallen Queen, than one who had himself so often been, as it were, the plaything of fickle fortune, tossed from the heights of prosperity and joy to the depths of misfortune and despair ? Who better than such a parent could point out the greatest consolation under calamity, or solace the grief of the desponding Margaret ? but, alas ! how are we struck at the contrast in the character of this Princess with that of her venerable sire ! The historian is silent, and the philosopher would descant on the weakness of her sex ; but it is for all true Christians to witness and lament in this admirable woman the want of “that peace which the world “cannot give.” Only peace of heart can ensure tranquillity in life, and when its close approaches that countenance only is cheerful, which is lighted by the blessed hope of another, and a better world. That ray of heavenly hope which had sustained Queen Margaret in her troubles, it would seem had been lost amidst the strife and tumults of party animosities, and in the struggle for worldly power and an earthly coronet, awful indeed was the peril in which she stood of losing her heavenly crown.

Had Queen Margaret possessed that inward peace which her aged father so evidently enjoyed, she might

* Habington ; Baudier ; Baker ; Hume ; Bodin ; Daniel ; Biondi.

like him have found a solace in each object presented in nature for her observation and reflection. Even the daisy, chosen by this Queen as her device in her joyful maidenhood, might have brought to her mind a lesson of content, and conveyed the sentiments, if not the language of the poet, who exclaims—

“ Bright flower, whose home is everywhere !
 “ A pilgrim bold in nature’s care !
 “ And oft, the long year through, the heir
 “ Of joy or sorrow.
 “ Methinks that there abides in thee
 “ Some concord with humanity,
 “ Given to no other flower, I see,
 “ The forest through.
 “ And wherefore ? Man is soon deprest :
 “ A thoughtless thing ! who, once emblest,
 “ Does little on his memory rest,
 “ Or, on his reason.
 “ But thou wouldst teach him how to find
 “ A shelter under every wind ;
 “ A hope for times that are unkind,
 “ And every season.” *

During the tranquil hours which René enjoyed at his residence at Aix, one of his most agreeable relaxations was the occupation of giving instruction to his grand-daughter, Margaret of Lorraine, the daughter of Yoland of Anjou and of Ferri of Vaudemont.

This Princess afterwards espoused René of Valois, Duke of Alençon.

Thus did King René, who had outlived his dearest relatives, make his happiness consist in paternal cares, and his sweetest enjoyment, in witnessing the graces and amiability of his beloved pupil.

His greatest satisfaction was in having his grand-daughter in his chamber, where he taught her himself to pray to God ; and nothing delighted him so much as to see the gradual development of the mind of this little creature, who was then but twelve or thirteen

* Wordsworth.

years of age. Nor were these pious instructions forgotten by this Princess, as her subsequent life gave proof.*

The Duke of Burgundy conquered Lorraine in 1475. He then attacked the Swiss, and took the town of Granson, and a body of troops coming to the relief of this place, the Duke went out to meet them as they were hastening down the narrow passes of the mountains, but his army was seized with a panic, and fled, leaving his baggage to the enemy. He renewed his attack, but was finally routed.

René II., Duke of Lorraine, had been solicited by the King of France and the Emperor to make war upon Charles of Burgundy. In this warfare he had lost his duchy, but subsequently, having received considerable succours, he again assailed his enemy, who was then besieging Nanci. He obtained a complete victory over him, and Charles, called "the Bold," was dismounted, and slain. This happened on the 3rd of January, 1477.

The death of this Prince was looked upon by all the politicians of that day, as an event of great importance to all Europe. Charles, Duke of Burgundy, was very ambitious, and fond of state and magnificence. He was but forty-five years of age when he was killed.

The Duke of Lorraine caused the body of Charles the Bold to be transported to Nanci, and laid on a bed of state, in an apartment hung with black velvet. He afterwards paid him all the customary funeral honours, which were of a very peculiar kind. We are told that René II. adorned himself with a great beard of threads of gold, reaching to his middle, after the manner of the ancient brave knights, and assisted at the funeral. Previous to his sprinkling holy water on

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† By some this Duke's death is dated January 5, 1476.

the corpse, he advanced up to the deceased Prince, and taking his hand, thus addressed him, "God rest thy soul, thou hast given us much trouble and grief!"

Thus did the aged René of Anjou behold before he died, the fulfilment of the prediction made at the coronation of King Charles VI.; when Philippe "le Hardi," Duke of Burgundy, so presumptuously placed himself at table above the Duke of Anjou, and it was foretold by an astrologer present that "the race of Anjou should exterminate that of Burgundy before a century should elapse."*

René obtained from his subjects the title of "the Good," which he truly deserved. He suffered the loss of all his dominions, yet he was one of the very few princes who did not merit to lose them. Goodness formed the essence of his character, of which much might be said that was truly admirable. In his actions, private as well as public, he evinced a simplicity amounting to true greatness, when accompanied, as it was in René, by intrepid courage, a lively beneficence, and uncommon talents for war and politics. This Prince, if he had not sufficient genius and moral power, as events seemed to show, to maintain himself on a contested throne, and to become a great King, had, however, all those qualifications necessary for a good King and an honest man. He was generous, compassionate, and the protector of the oppressed, and rendered justice, with impartiality, to all his subjects. To these virtues he owed his honourable surname, and the glory of being called to wear the crown of Arragon.†

"René united to inexhaustible charity, active piety, and exquisite sensibility, lively and original wit, and

* Paston Letters; Monfaucon; Moreri; Bodin; Roujoux's *Ducs de Bretagne*; Wraxall's *France*.

† *Hist. Général de Provence*; Walpole.

“ a mild philosophy, which neither the injustice nor
 “ the misfortunes he suffered could alter. His kind-
 “ ness would indeed sometimes degenerate into weak-
 “ ness, and his generosity into prodigality ; but he had
 “ the glory of having encouraged, and caused to be
 “ appreciated, the sciences, letters, and arts, all of
 “ which he cultivated himself in a remarkable manner.
 “ These tastes, which surround as with a charm the
 “ memory of the princes who have encouraged them,
 “ would stamp René as the precursor of Leo X. and
 “ Francis I.”*

By the will which René made at Marseilles, 22nd of July, 1473, he left to his two daughters, Yoland, Duchess of Lorraine, and Margaret, Queen of England, each the sum of a thousand golden crowns, or 13,060 livres.† Besides this sum, bequeathed to his second daughter for her right of institution, René also gave, for her use as long as she should remain a widow, 2,000 livres de rentes, on the revenues of Bar.‡

1471.

The next year René declared Charles of Maine, son of Charles of Anjou, his heir, and he hoped that henceforth nothing would trouble his repose, but Louis XI. being informed that the good old King, justly incensed at his conduct in the seizure of Angers, proposed to make the Duke of Burgundy his heir, speedily altered his behaviour towards him. He went to Lyons and invited René to come to him there from Aix, where he was then residing : he reluctantly accepted the invitation, although well aware that he had everything to fear from his perfidious nephew. When they met, the deceitful King used all sorts of means to make his uncle forget the injuries he had

* Hist. Général de Provence.

† Paston Letters ; Villeneuve Bargemont ; Hist. Général de Provence.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

done him, and at this conjuncture did not fail to receive him with all the honours due to his rank.

Jean Cossa, Seneschal of Provence, on this occasion, accompanied his master, and at the first conference between the two Kings took upon himself to address the French monarch in these terms, "Sire, be not surprised if the King, my master, your uncle, has offered his succession to the Duke of Burgundy. He has followed in that the advice of his council, that of his most faithful servants, and of mine in particular. That which has determined us to advise thus has been the ill-treatment which he has received from you, and above all the seizure you have made of the castle of Bar, and of the city of Angers. Our intention, in fact, was, that this treaty should never be accomplished, and we have had no other view but that of obliging you thereby, to give a reason to the King, our master, for the wrongs you have done him, and to remind you that he is your uncle."

This freedom from Cossa was received by Louis very well, and he even praised the wisdom of the Seneschal. The differences were quickly accommodated, and the treaty which had been commenced in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, was entirely broken off, under the most provoking circumstances for him.

The good René was, at this time, enfeebled by age and misfortunes, yet his soul was still noble and disinterested. He was persuaded to make his will, and, by an irrevocable act, to declare the King of France his heir; and we are told that he suffered himself to be gained over by the numerous presents which Louis conferred upon him, all of which were artfully made conformable to his tastes. They consisted of books, paintings, medals, and antique morceaux; and for these, they say, the aged King resigned his beautiful county of Provence, of which he made a cession to

1479.

Louis XI.* René, it is said, "Ecrivit de son joug l'instrument authentique." In fact, he traced on vellum, in letters of gold, to which he added vignettes, and flower-work of the most beautiful colours, this act, which appeared to be extorted from him by trickery and persecution. It was at the Cordelliers at Lyons that this cession was made in favour of Charles, Count of Maine, the nephew of King René; yet the artful monarch of France, who worded it, well knew that he could contrive to substitute himself for the Count. In this agreement René included all his rights to the county of Provence, the duchy of Anjou, and even of Lorraine; but, Philip de Comines, who was present at this conference, declares that Louis was not instituted the heir of René, but that this monarch only engaged not to conclude the treaty with Burgundy, and even adhered to the will René had made a year before, in favour of Charles of Anjou.

It is, however, certain, that it was at this time that René transmitted to Louis all his rights to the kingdom of Naples; and thus originated the wars in Italy, under the reign of Charles VIII., which were as sharply contested, as bloody, and as fruitless as any of the preceding contests. Nowhere in history can we find a better example of the truth of that saying, that "the faults of the fathers never serve as lessons to their children."†

1479
Barante.

In the year 1479, the King of France made a treaty of alliance with René II., Duke of Lorraine, which probably he never intended to execute, since he ceded to him the duchy of Luxembourg and the earldom of Bourgoyne, being most reluctant to give up his right

* One author adds, that Louis conducted his uncle to the fair held at Lyons, where all the beautiful ladies of that place were assembled.

† Bodin; Monfaucon; Daniel; Jean de Troye; Godard Faultrier; Hallam; Barante.

to them when he entertained suspicions that this Duke would become heir to his grandfather, King René. This was, indeed, the ambition of the Duke of Lorraine, who had consented to a lease for the duchy of Bar, and had entered upon the government of it. He afterwards went to Provence, hoping to change the will which had been made in favour of Charles of Anjou.

Louis XI. had strong friends in Provence, and he had one especially in Palamede de Fourbin, who directed everything in that country; and we are told, that advantage was taken of the old King, whose mind was enfeebled, to advise him to require that Duke René should give up the arms of his duchy and his House, "and take the escutcheon of Anjou, which this Prince refused, saying that he would only "quarter his arms." This answer, it is reported, incensed King René against his grandson.*

Not long after, the King of France sent the Lord of Blanchefort, Mayor of Bourdeaux, and Maître François Genas, general of the finances, to watch over his interests. They made rich presents to King René, and also to his advisers; upon which the Duke of Lorraine took the alarm, and hastily embarked; but, not being willing to incur the peril of traversing the kingdom, he disembarked at Venice.

Louis XI. about this time being elated by the donation of Queen Margaret of Anjou, sent to reclaim the duchy of Bar. Duke René had not returned, and his mother, Yoland, who was a proud and courageous princess, gave for answer that "the King might act "as he thought proper, but that she would never "abandon the duchy of Bar." On being advised she requested to wait her son's return. The French King, meanwhile, obtained from King René, a lease of six

* Barante.

years, which granted him the government of the duchy of Bar. This lease which René agreed to was never acknowledged as valid, either by the Duchess Yoland or her son. They referred to an act made in 1476, in which the King protested beforehand against any disposition he might thereafter make to the prejudice of his daughter Yoland or her son René, who alone ought, as they argued, to possess the duchy of Bar, assigned to them by King René's will. This difference did not terminate even on the death of King René.

Charles, Count of Maine, inherited Provence, and the King of France re-united Anjou to the crown. The town of Bar, with some others, were held in the name of the King, and the rest of the duchy of Bar was given up to Duke René, who maintained he had a right to the whole of it.*

It would appear, indeed, that in the latter years of his life the good King René could no longer act from his own free will.

1479. Another account has been given of this disposition respecting the duchy of Bar, by which we learn that King René, on the 1st of October, 1479, received at Aix, the deputies of the city of Arles, who came to do him homage in the name of this city. Soon afterwards, the Duke of Anjou ceded the revenues of the duchy of Bar to Louis XI. for 6000 livres,† conditionally that he should preserve the sovereignty of it, and that everything should be executed in his name. This disposition René in a manner revoked in the following December, stipulating that at his death, the duchy of Bar should return to Yoland of Anjou, his daughter, and after her to her son René II., on condition that they should put an end to the troubles which desolated this unfortunate country, and in addition to pay 40,000 crowns of gold which were still due to Mar-

* Barante.

† Tornois de pension.

garet of Savoy, the widow of Louis III. and Countess of Wurtemberg. This alteration undoubtedly took place contrary to the will of Louis XI., who had, for a long time, persecuted his uncle, in order to obtain possession of his states.

The following phrase, found in a letter written by this monarch, and addressed to one of his agents, shows his purpose—"Si vous ne pouvez seduire, ou "intimider les commissaires du Roi René, tachez de "faire inserer quelque bon mot, dont je puisse me "servir dans la suite." Louis did not obtain his object, and his intrigues failed. Justice triumphed, and it was decided that the Duchy of Bar should remain in the House of Lorraine.

This was the last sovereign act of René of Anjou. His health had been considerably impaired since his misfortunes, and he seemed to get weaker and weaker in the course of this year, 1479.*

1479.

Having a presentiment that his end was approaching, this Prince desired to have near him his grandson, René II., and the Count of Maine, the only remaining princes of his once numerous family. Charles of Anjou did not leave him any more, although Bourdigné relates that he returned to Mans, after a journey of some time in the principal towns of Provence, where his grandfather had conducted him, in order that he might become more attached to those, whom he would have to govern. This was apparently the last time that René left his palace at Aix. The decline of his strength, his exhaustion and melancholy, were visibly augmented by the frightful ravages of the plague, which had reappeared in Provence. In the endeavour to stay the ravages of this distemper, the aged Prince seemed to forget himself; and in the exercise of an inexhaustible charity, he was fearless of danger, so

* Villeneuve Bargemont ; Mariana ; Barante.

that he could but protect his people. His benefits even preceded the attacks of this destructive disease, and they were received by the indigent in the most obscure and remote dwellings.

It was in vain, however, that this kind monarch dispensed his riches on these unfortunate objects; equally vain was his endeavour to awaken benevolence, and that he unceasingly employed workmen, in erecting various buildings necessary to the salubrity or the embellishment of the city of Aix. The heartrending picture of the effects of this contagion, the cruel images which met his eyes, the despair of so many families, the sad aspect of his depopulated capital, all seemed to unite to break his heart and to overwhelm him. At this period he evinced, as he had done throughout his life, great courage and resignation as regarded his own misfortunes, although he was unable to support with fortitude, those, of which his subjects became the victims. Such a lively sensibility necessarily increased the infirmities with which King René had been attacked for some months, and he was not slow to perceive the dangerous alteration in his health, and to foresee that death was approaching.* He was prepared for that hour by the exercise of a fervent piety, as well as by strength of soul; and the remembrance of the cruel plague had detached him beforehand, from a perishable and deceitful world. During the first months of the year 1480 his malady was not aggravated, and being alternately suffering and convalescent, his court again indulged the hope that this good prince would be yet a long while preserved to them.

Towards the end of June, René, perhaps in order to keep in mind his own situation, demanded a renewal of his dispositions in favour of Charles of Maine, ap-

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

pointing after him, in case he left no male offspring, Louis XI. his successor, to whom he sent his will, at this time, recommending to his especial care, Queen Jeanne de Laval, and his daughter, Margaret of Anjou.* Thus the last act of authority of this Prince, viz., his will, was consecrated to the interests of his subjects; and having ended this important duty, which he seemed to foresee he must hasten, his strength, more impaired by adversity than age, appeared to abandon him, and the alteration in his countenance no longer left a doubt with the Lords admitted to his intimacy, that his life was in imminent danger.

No sooner had this news spread through the city than a profound sentiment of grief was felt by the people of Aix. Their affection for their sovereign banished every other idea, and they hastened to their churches to implore for his life, of Him who held in his hand the lives of men and of kings.

Notwithstanding her grief, the Queen of Sicily set the example of this religious faith, and the people were inspired with attachment to her, as they perceived her hastening from her palace, with a long veil thrown over her head, to enter the metropolis, and prostrate herself before the image of the holy Virgin. She was also known to pass in her oratory some portion of her time daily in prayer. The divers bodies of state, by turns, repaired to the churches; there, indeed, every age, rank, or sex was confounded, all being alike occupied in expressing the same vows, feeling the same anxiety, and mingling together their prayers, sighs, and tears. Without the sacred vaults, scenes no less touching, warmly attested the public grief.

Seated beneath the Linden trees, which lined the avenues of the palace, or crowding into the courts, were to be seen men, women, and children, asking

* Carte ; Villeneuve Bargemont.

with sobs the news of their common father. Every passer-by thus arrested, they mutually communicated their hopes and fears. At sunrise the multitude were before the royal mansion in tears; the approach of night did not disperse them. A picture of no less interest was presented on the roads which led to the capital. Messengers from the principal towns, and even from the most simple hamlets, were passing along continually, for all desired to know if there was no amelioration in the condition of their King, and the return of these messengers was watched for with impatience and alarm. It appeared as though the entire county of Provence were but one great family, alarmed for the life of its head, and as if upon this good Prince alone depended also, the fate of each individual, of each city, nay even of the state itself.

These demonstrations of sincere affection reached the dying monarch, and they served to reanimate him. Deeply affected by the love of his people, tears of gratitude escaped from his eyes, about to close for ever, and once again he looked with kindness upon those who were respectfully pressing his feeble hands, and encircling his humble bed. Then he mustered the little strength remaining to him, as if in an effort to measure the depth of that eternity opening before him, yet not a word was he heard to utter concerning his bodily health, and indeed he ceased not to repeat to those who addressed their prayers to God for his recovery, "It is for the soul, yes! it is for the soul" "only, that I conjure you to offer up your petitions."*

Finding that his strength was failing him, René sent for Charles of Maine, Elizar Garnier, his confessor, the prior of the royal convent of St. Maximin, John of Matheron, the venerable Fouquet D'Agoult, the grand seneschal, Pierre de la Juille, and Palemade de

* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Forbin; at the same time arrived, escorted by the Queen, Jeanne de Laval, the Countess of Maine, and her sister, Margaret of Lorraine.

King René then addressing himself to Charles of Anjou, and making an effort to raise his voice, said, “ My son, it seems there is something lacking in the love I have shown you. It is not enough that I have testified it in giving you my states, I must still teach you how you will enjoy them happily. To this end, the sole maxim you have to practise is, to love your people as I have loved them, and you will then find the Provençaux faithful and zealous. Consider what they have done for me, by these means, in my wars of Naples, Catalonia, and even in Normandy, when I assisted the late King Charles VII. You know what has been said of them, that there never was a better people under a good King, and that there never was a worse under a bad one. Test again this proof in your own person. Preserve amongst this people the same affection that you find there, and remember that God wills, that kings should resemble Him more by their goodness than their power.”

Full of an admirable presence of mind, René gave to his successor yet other counsels upon the duties of a sovereign towards his people. Like St. Louis, dying on the banks of Carthage, he could leave him the example of his life. René then presented with his feeble hand Charles of Maine to all his attendants, who were ranged round his death-bed, and he recommended him to his ministers, and to the principal lords who had served under him, and who were listening to his paternal exhortations. These faithful servants, seeking to stifle their sobs and restrain their tears, were unable to answer him, and René then, with his eyes almost closed, and his lips half fixed, bade them fare-

well in terms of affection. His countenance preserved the serenity of a pure conscience, and his dying looks, turned towards heaven, still expressed benevolence. The little group of mourners respectfully withdrew.

When alone, as he desired to be, with his confessor, René seemed no longer to belong to this earth, but appeared to linger here yet a few instants, as if to abandon himself entirely to the thoughts which ought to terminate the life of a good christian and a wise man. He recalled passages of his life, as though in the presence of his great Judge. He confessed himself anew, meditated, and then received the Sacrament, with a fervour, which edified the priest himself. He then wished for the last time to hear the holy Scriptures, and to have the Psalms read to him by Elezar Garnier, who afterwards related that up to the moment of his death René preserved his memory, and the use of his other intellectual faculties, and that while he read to him he was absorbed in pious, profound, and touching reflections, upon divers passages which struck his attention.

Thus he breathed his last, without grief or pain. He expired on Monday, the 10th of July, 1480, at the hour of vespers. René was seventy-two years of age when he died, and it was the forty-seventh year of his reign.*

The lamentations without the Palace speedily announced to the people the loss they had sustained, and each individual suspended his labours, or forgot at the moment his matters of domestic interest, and coming forth, they accosted one another, and with tears in their eyes, repeated their praises of their venerable monarch, each one adding some touching details of his own reminiscence. Their manufactories and shops were shut, and funereal hangings were at every door ; as

* Moreri ; Carte ; Bodin ; Villeneuve Bargemont ; Monfaucon ; Baudier ; Barante ; Mariana ; Eccles. Hist. ; Godard Faultrier.

the news reached the cottages on the outskirts, the labourers, deserting their fields, entered the town in a body, crying, "The father of our country, the father of the poor, is no more!"

The people of Aix and of the country, united by their common affliction, gained permission to visit the chamber of their Prince, where they pressed around his bed, kissed his hands and feet, and gazed for the last time on the features of their beloved benefactor, and a concert of praises, the last sad homage rendered by them to the virtues of their good King, re-echoed during several hours about the inanimate remains of this friend and father of the poor and needy.

The corpse of René, having been embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin, and laid in state, during three days and nights preceding the burial. And now, as the moment approached when this "father of his people" was about to disappear for ever from all eyes, tears flowed afresh, and new praises were lavished upon his beneficence and piety.

The obsequies of this best of Princes were celebrated on the 14th of July, in the presence of all the communities of Provence, those deputies of the town who were able to arrive in time, the sovereign courts of justice, the clergy and inhabitants of Aix, without distinction, bearing torches in their hands. The officers of the Palace and the numerous servants of René were likewise there, and weeping. The streets were hung with black, and it might have been thought that death had visited each house with an especial blow. A mournful silence prevailed everywhere, interrupted only by the tolling of the bells or the chaunts of the priests, whose voices were often drowned by dolorous sobs. Fouquet d'Agoult, who for many years had been honoured with his sovereign's confidence, presided at this sad ceremony, which lasted until the evening.

The funeral procession, passing though the populace who were all weeping, arrived at the Church of St. Saviour's, where the service was performed for the dead amidst cries and tears; all were alike inconsolable, for indeed the house and table of René had been the refuge of the poor.

The coffin was laid in one of the chapels until a tomb, more worthy of this lamented Prince, could be made, and as yet no one thought that the remains of King René, could be buried elsewhere than in Provence. This monarch had, however, commanded in his will, that his remains should be conveyed to Angers, and be placed by the side of his first Queen, Isabella of Lorraine, "his very dear wife, in the Cathedral of St. "Maurice," where he had prepared for himself a magnificent tomb. In this church he had been baptised, and there reposed the ashes of almost all his ancestors.*

René had taken great pleasure in enriching the Church of St. Maurice. He had presented to it a very beautiful urn of porphyry,† which was brought from Jerusalem by his orders, and the pious believed that this vase was the same used by our Lord at the feast of Cana, when he changed the water into wine. In remembrance of this miracle the vase was filled with wine every year, on the second Sunday after Epiphany, and it was distributed to the people after the blessing. This was established as a perpetual custom by King René. To this church also René bequeathed his rich woollen tapestry, comprising the visions and figures of

* Within this church might be seen eight statues of Dukes of Anjou.—*Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.*

† René also gave to this church a vase, of oblong form, of green antique marble, from Marseilles. This piece of antiquity is more precious for the rarity of its material than for its workmanship. It is a baignure of verd antique, 4 feet 8 inches long (French), and 21 inches high, and serves still as a baptismal font at this church. The sword of St. Maurice was also to be seen in this antique building supported on lions.

the Apocalypse, an infinite number of chappes and draperies, gold and velvet ornaments, bearing his coat of arms, and other things for the ceremonies of the worship of God.* Both his Queens were represented on the painted windows of St. Maurice.*

The will of this Prince was sworn to by Jeanne de Laval, who, believing herself bound to fulfill strictly the last wishes of her husband, announced her purpose of transporting his remains to Angers. This determination was no sooner made public, than it was followed by a general insurrection in the town of Aix; all classes expressed their dissatisfaction, and for the first time murmurs were heard against the "good King." "He gave himself to us long before his death," they exclaimed everywhere. "No people have loved him so well as the Provençaux, and none can, or ought to dispute their right to his precious remains."

In this fervour they even persuaded themselves that the honour of their country was interested in preserving in their capital a monarch whom they had delighted in so much, and they came to the decision that they would oppose with open force, if necessary, the removal of the corpse of René to Angers. This resolution, which they considered as patriotic, they adhered to, and universally protested against the transfer of their old master's remains, demanding that a mausoleum should be erected to his memory at the expense of the faithful Provençaux.

Charles of Anjou, Olivier de Penant, Archbishop of Aix, and other eminent persons of the court, who beheld this excitement, yielded to the general feeling which had been so energetically manifested, and which in its source was too touching to be any longer disregarded.

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Baudier; Monfaucon; Moreri.

They also considered themselves the less wanting to the memory of King René, since the monks of St. Maximin offered to affirm upon oath that the attachment of the people of Aix, had so deeply affected that Prince, as to cause him upon his death bed, to revoke verbally the clause in his will, expressive of his desire to be buried in the Church of St. Maurice, at Angers.

This concession, authorised by the Queen, and in a manner extorted from her, was no sooner made known, than it produced in its turn a strong sentiment of joy ; and when the public peace was re-established, the universal subject of their thoughts was the construction of a monument worthy of their beloved sovereign, which should attest to posterity the gratitude and affection of the Provençaux. A plan was speedily projected by the most skilful artists, and submitted for the approval of the Count of Provence, and the foundation was laid without delay. Amongst the bas relievos in white marble were some intended to retrace the memorable combats in which this Prince had signalized his valour, others to remind them of the virtues which had made him so beloved. Some symbolical figures in marble were also destined to represent history, mathematics, poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, all weeping for a Prince, who had alike protected and cultivated them. They omitted nothing, in short, which could recall to mind their excellent sovereign.*

1450.

Whilst the people of Aix were exerting every means for the prompt erection of their national monument, having no longer any doubts, that the precious remains of their sovereign would continue amongst them, Jeanne de Laval quitted Provence on her return to Anjou, where she had determined to reside for the future, in the castle of Beaufort.

* Godard Faultrier ; Villeneuve Bargemont.

This château, formerly laved by the waters of the Loire, was built on a rock, overlooking the whole valley, and from its battlements might be seen the two fine towns of Angers and Saumur.

King René had purchased this residence, in 1469, for 30,000 golden crowns, and had assigned it for dowry to Jeanne de Laval, who passed in it the last eighteen years of her life.

This Princess, in departing from the place where the corpse of King René reposed, perhaps repenting of her condescension, or touched by the grief of the Angevins, resolved yet to accomplish the will of her husband. It appears that before her departure, she secretly persuaded a monk of the chapter of St. Saviour, to undertake the execution of her project. This monk was obliged to delay for some time, the performance of the Queen's orders; but he concerted his measures well; the coffin was removed from the cathedral during the night, placed in a cask, then carried on a cart to the banks of the Rhone, where being embarked, they conveyed it by water to the Pont de Cé. This enterprise was conducted with such secrecy, that the result was unknown at Aix until such time as precautions could be taken to prevent another commotion.

All that remained in Provence of this Prince were his entrails, deposited at the foot of the altar of the great Carmelites, under a large plate of copper, surrounded by an iron railing and again covered with wood, on which was inscribed—

“ Hic sunt viscera serenissimi Siciliæ
“ Hierosolymis regis Renati Andegavia, ac
“ Bari ducis et Provinciæ comitis.”

While on the one hand the inhabitants of Aix were plunged into sullen grief on finding their confidence

betrayed, and that they were compelled thus to abandon their project of erecting a mausoleum, to attest thereby to futurity their respect for King René, the Angevins, with transports of joy and gratitude, received the royal coffin. Upon the arrival of this precious deposit on the confines of Anjou, a sweet satisfaction united to a religious melancholy was exhibited on all sides. At last it was brought by night to St. Laud, near Angers, in the month of August, 1481, more than a year after the death of King René.*

The citizens could not at first give entire credence to a circumstance which appeared so little probable, and, influenced by the popular reports on this matter, the dean and canon of St. Maurice, even doubted if it was really the body of their monarch, which had been restored to them. They required that the leaden coffin should be opened in their presence, and before other witnesses. This request being granted, they found King René as entire and perfect and undecomposed as if he had only died a few days before.†

After this the body was placed in a double coffin of lead, and the heart was laid in a silver box.

The sacred remains of this Prince rested secretly at St. Laud from the month of August till the 9th of October, about seven weeks. Then the heart was taken to the Cordeliers, in the chapel of St. Bernardin, and the body to the cathedral of St. Maurice. This solemn transfer was effected with the greatest pomp, and the most extraordinary expense. Six doctors in law, canon and civil, held the pall; twenty licentiate scholars, all gentlemen, carried the coffin, and at the head walked the rector of the University. This homage to the talents of René shows, at the same time, the supreme rank which the members of

* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin.

† Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

the university occupied amongst the dignitaries of Angers.

This ceremony ended, René was placed at the left side of the great altar of St. Maurice, near to Isabella of Lorraine, who had been interred there in 1453.

A rich mausoleum was soon raised by the pious care of Jeanne de Laval, over the tomb of her husband; and she caused to be executed upon it, the designs which René had himself traced for it. This funeral monument was eight feet in length and six in width, and it was entirely covered with black marble, and decorated on the three sides with elegant pilasters, between which were placed the escutcheon of Anjou and Lorraine, sculptured with the utmost delicacy and refinement. The statues of the King and Queen were lying down, and formed of white marble of Carrara; they were placed on a pedestal of porphyry. That of King René was resting on a cushion, his forehead encircled by a diadem, leaving visible a kind of cap, which covered the top of his head, and under his long tunic with large sleeves, was to be seen his coat of arms. A lion, symbol of his rare strength and courage, reposed at his feet, and at the feet of the Queen were placed two dogs, emblems of fidelity.*

This mausoleum was placed under an arch, the bottom of which was filled by a large tableau on wood, which it is pretended that King René painted himself, or, at least, that he commenced it, because, in his will, he gave orders "that the picture on his tomb be finished." This painting represented death in the figure of a skeleton, covered with a cloak of gold cloth, edged with ermine. The figure is leaning on the arms of a throne, on which he is seated, and bears a crown, which appears to be falling from his head.

* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Bodin: Monfaucon.

Above this tableau were engraved the following Latin verses; they were the composition of René:

“Regia scepter luis, rutilis fulgentia trónis,
 “Dum quondam recolis pressa et nunc pulvere cernis
 “Marcescunt flores, mundi laudes et honores,
 “Gloria, fama levis, pomparum fastus inanis.
 “Una parit reges et vulgus terra potentes,
 “Quod dedit hæc repetit, mortalia cuncta recludit
 “Mors, dominis servos, et turpibus æquat honestos
 “Unus erunt tumulus, rex, pastor, inersque peritus.”

Once regal sceptres shining from bright thrones,
 Adorned thy hands, and beamed their precious stones.
 Now pressed in dust, earth's flowers fade away:
 Fame, glory, honour, praise alike decay.
 One earth is mother both of prince and slave;
 She asketh back, and hides, whate'er she gave.
 Death levels master, servant, bound and free;
 Kings, shepherds, high and low, one heap shall be.*

The blazon of the second “House of Anjou and Sicily” was composed, at the death of René, of the arms of Hungary, Naples, Jerusalem, France, Bar, Lorraine, and Arragon.†

Towards the close of his life René assumed the title of King of Arragon, Sicily, and Jerusalem; but these were only imaginary and useless titles to him, since he had no longer any hope of recovering what he had lost.‡ Although he was styled King of Sicily, Naples, Hungary, and Jerusalem, Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, Majorca, and Corsica, Duke of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar, Count of Provence and Forcalquier, all these pompous titles served only to enrich his coat of arms, while no other monarch of his age had so little power, or money, as René of Anjou.

Often was he obliged to have recourse to the purse of his subjects, and proof of this may be found in the

* Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Godard Faultrier.

‡ Mariana.

registers of the Cathedral of Angers. The chapter lent him, on pledges, in 1465, five hundred crowns, and again twelve thousand crowns. The taxes, however, which had been extremely heavy in former reigns, were very moderate in his; and he was not forced, like his ancestor, Louis I. of Anjou, to make an ordinance at the time of his death, to alleviate the remorse of his conscience, for the distribution to the poor shop-keepers and peasants of Anjou, and Touraine, of 20,000 livres (145,000 francs) to remunerate them for the unjust taxes he had levied upon them.*

With René, the last hero of the old chivalry, ended the "House of Anjou," and their illustrious pretensions to numerous crowns.†

One author, in his history of Provence says, that "this Prince needed only to complete his glory, his-torians worthy of him;" and adds, that "if pains were taken to collect, in the different provinces which he governed, the anecdotes and actions relating to him, it might be found, that his character would be a worthy parallel to that of the renowned Henry IV."‡

"The faults of René partook of the spirit of the age in which he lived; his virtues were his own. No one better fulfilled the external duties of religion, but his piety, was but the piety of his age. He loaded the churches with his favours, at a time when he was not able to pay his debts." He had made a vow to pay a visit to the Holy Sepulchre, and it was then the heroism of devotion, but the events of his life did not permit him to undertake this pilgrimage, and

* Bodin.

† As a testimony how much the merits and virtues of King René have been appreciated by posterity, it may be added, that, as late as May, 1823, a marble statue was erected to the memory of the "Good King René" in one of the finest places in the city of Aix.

‡ Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Hist. Général de Provence.

he consequently bequeathed three thousand ducats, to enable his heirs to send his substitute.

“During the last years of his life, René retained “nothing of royalty, but the habit of thinking and “feeling as a king, in all that related to religion and “government; in everything else he was the philosopher.”*

At Saumur there was formerly to be seen on the great altar of St. Peter's Church, the statues of the King and Queen of Sicily, in stone. They were kneeling, and between them was an angel covered with a cope, and holding a great cross. On the left of the angel was Jesus Christ showing his side uncovered, and pierced, and also his hands. On the right was St. Peter, in an attitude expressive of surprise, which he is said to have felt, when, as he left the city of Rome, to avoid death, our Saviour met him, and showed him his hands and side, which caused the Apostle to say, “Where are you going, Lord?” This meeting retains the name “Quo vadis?” and has since afforded, both to the sculptor, and painter, a subject for the decoration of our churches.

Amongst the treasures of this parish of St. Peter, there was formerly preserved René's letter to the clergy of this church, which he wrote when he sent these statues, and below it is related, as by St. Bernard in his memoirs, “I send you the ‘Quo vadis,’ “with the figures of us, and of our companions.” All these figures have been destroyed. That of René must be regretted; for he was looked upon, says our author, as one of the best sovereigns that ever reigned in Anjou.†

After the death of René, the pretensions of the House of Anjou to the crown of Naples legally descended to his grandson, René II.: but, his mother

* Hist. Général de Provence.

† Bodin.

Yoland, having married into the House of Lorraine, had thus given such displeasure to her father, that he bequeathed his Neapolitan title, along with his real patrimony, the county of Provence, to his nephew, the Count of Maine.

Charles of Anjou obtained possession of Provence, but he did not long survive his aged relative. He died at Marseilles, on the 10th of December, 1481, leaving no children.* Louis XI. was by this prince instituted his heir. He recommended to this monarch the care of Provence, her customs and privileges. Thus was this province reunited to the crown.

1481.
Mezerai ;
Barante.

We learn that Charles of Anjou was influenced in making his will by Palamede de Fourbin, Seigneur de Lollier, who prevailed upon him to give the succession to the King, to the prejudice of René, Duke of Lorraine ; who, in vain asserted his pretensions to it. The King of France, in gratitude to Palamede de Fourbin, made him lieutenant-general in Provence, with extensive authority.

Louis XI. took possession of Provence, but gave himself no trouble about the kingdom of Naples.†

King René had invested his grandson, René II., with the duchies of Lorraine and of Bar. This he appears to have been constrained to do, but the rest of his inheritance he bestowed on the Count of Maine ; to the great displeasure of Duke René, who, upon the death of his grandfather, earnestly endeavoured to form a party in Provence, in order to secure this prince's dominions, but his efforts were vain, and he was obliged to fly precipitately.

These attempts served only to incense the King of France against Duke René ; the former seeking to

* Some write that he died on the 11th of December.

† Monfaucon ; Mezerai ; Barante ; Eccles. Hist. ; Daniel Hallam's Mid. Ages ; Wrxall ; Gibbon's Miscel.

deprive him of the duchy of Bar, and asserting his own right to it, according to the lease granted to him by King René, and the cession of Queen Margaret of England.

Louis XI., having seized and fortified Bar, and other cities, refused to submit this difference to any arbitration, but that of the Pope.* Eventually Louis triumphed; and in the reign of his successor, René II. was still demanding the restoration of his duchy of Bar, kept from him by Louis XI., and also the county of Provence. Bar was restored to him for a sum of money, which the King insisted upon; and the Duke of Lorraine being in great favour at court, and having many friends, was permitted to lead a company of a hundred lances in an expedition against Naples; which he claimed, in right of his mother, Yoland of Anjou. A pension of 36,000 francs was granted him also for four years; in which time, his title to Provence was to be examined into. Before the expiration of that period, however, objections were raised to Duke René's inheriting this country, and he finally left the French court in disgust. This prince also lost, by his delay, all chance of success in Naples; where the Lords had rebelled against Ferdinand, and had, with the Pope, united their solicitations to Duke René to assume the crown.

In taking possession of Provence, Louis XI., and after him Charles VIII., did so because, it was a male-fief, and the male line was extinct, on which account René II. could have no claim to it. There was no Salic law in the kingdom of Naples; therefore, although Duke René was allowed to proceed thither, with his company of a hundred lances, it was afterwards discovered, from ancient testaments of Charles I. and others of the Angevine princes, that the kingdom

* Daniel; Barante.

of Naples, and the county of Provence, were irrevocably united. Thus Charles VIII. drew this conclusion, that being Count of Provence by the will of Charles of Maine, he was also lawful heir to the crown of Naples; and the rights of the Duke of Lorraine, who had no power to enforce them, were from this time forgotten.

In right of his mother Yoland, René II. assumed the title and arms, of the King of Sicily and Arragon. Duke René II. died on the 10th of December, 1508.*

* Philip de Comines; Gibbon; Sismondi; Moreri; Barante.

CHAPTER IX.

“ Strong is the arm of fate ! we fall to rise no more ! ”

MISS HOLFORD.

Queen Margaret's second cession to Louis XI.—Her pension—Her sister's cession—The Queen's residence at Dampierre—Her last days—Her death—Burial and will—The Cathedral of St. Maurice—Queen Margaret's character—Her advice to the Earl of Richmond—Sketches of some of her relatives and distinguished persons of her times—Of Jeanne de Laval—Yoland of Anjou—Margaret of Lorraine—Cecily, Duchess of York—Elizabeth Woodville and others, in conclusion.

QUEEN MARGARET had been residing in the city of Aix, under the protection of her father; and upon his death she went into Anjou, and there made a second cession to Louis XI. of the provinces of Lorraine, Bar, and Provence. This act was signed by her in the hall of the mansion of Reculée, built by René, near Angers, on the 19th of October, 1480.* It was also signed by her sister, the Duchess of Lorraine, and one writer tells us, that this cession was made in November, of 1480.

The French monarch then granted to the unfortunate Queen an annual pension for her maintenance, consisting of the sum of 10,500 livres,† chargeable on the revenues of the duchy of Bar, to be paid to her during the remainder of her life.

This brief period of her existence was passed by Queen Margaret in the Château de Dampierre, near

* Bourdigné ; Baudier ; Bodin ; Monstrelet ; Hist. Général de Provence ; Godard Faultrier ; Female Worthies.

† This was 2000 livres *tournois*.

Saumur, where she found an asylum in the house of a private individual, Francis de Vignolles,* Seigneur de Moraens, who had formerly been an officer of the household of King René, whom he had served during forty years, and from whom he had received some benefits.

It is interesting to consider this Queen in the entire seclusion of this Château of Dampierre,† when she had lost her wealth, rank, and possessions, and above all, had been deprived of the most beloved objects of her affections. Her decline was hastened by melancholy and regret; it was not the gradual decay of a noble edifice by the hand of time, but in far more striking characters exhibited the most abrupt annihilation of the human fabric.

This once high-minded and courageous Princess, whose beauty and talents were the admiration of all Europe, passed the two last years of her eventful life in this tranquil retreat, mourning over her misfortunes, and those of her family.

The situation of her habitation must have peculiarly favoured the indulgence of her dejected spirits. From many spots on the hill on which the Château de Dampierre stood, Queen Margaret could behold the Castle

* His brother, John de la Vignolles, was dean of the church at Angers.

† This old turreted house has still considerable beauty, besides its peculiar interest as the last habitation of this Angevine Princess. Nothing now remains but a small narrow tower, with a winding staircase much dilapidated, and also a part of a massive wall, richly ornamented with carved stone work. Monsieur de la Rivière, a canon, possessed the château at the time of the French revolution; after which, all ecclesiastical property being sold, Dampierre was purchased by M. Richeaudieu, and it now belongs to his son-in-law, M. Fontenailles. Very near to Dampierre there were also a few rooms and a chapel, for the most part excavated from the rock, which is said to have formed an occasional summer residence for Queen Margaret; but it is many years since they were wholly removed. The spot on which they were built was the property of M. de Tigneu in 1845. Of this last edifice there remains only a small narrow tower with a winding staircase in a dilapidated condition, and part of a massive wall, richly ornamented with carved stone-work.

of Saumur, which she had often inhabited in her youthful days, when crowds of gay and brilliant knights and ladies, joined the court of Anjou, to share in the various gratifications of the tournament.

The unhappy Princess could see towards the south, the Château of Brézé, which must have recalled to her recollection the Grand Seneschal of Normandy, Pierre de Brézé, her valiant champion, who in her greatest perils had come to her aid, having been dismissed by the perfidious Louis XI., rather with the intent to get rid of him, than with a view to succour the Queen. It was to reward this knight for his valour and fidelity in her cause, that she bestowed upon him the Channel Islands—a recompense which afterwards involved him in much peril and disgrace.

Queen Margaret fell a victim to disappointment and grief. While brooding over her unhappy fate, one might imagine the bitter words which would escape her lips—

“ Who sues, who kneels, who says ‘ God save the Queen ? ’

“ Where be the bending peers that flatter’d thee ?

“ Where be the thronging troops that follow’d thee ?

“ Decline all this and see what now thou art :

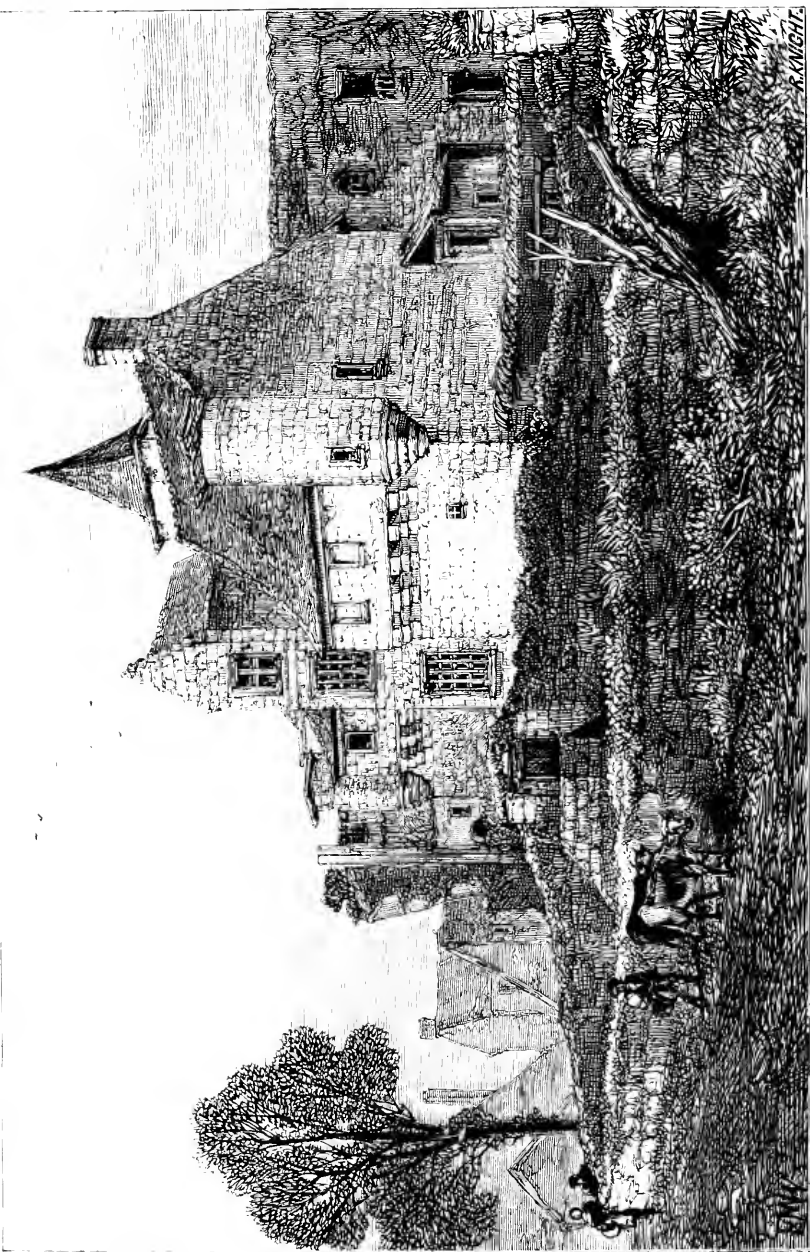
“ For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;

“ For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;

“ For Queen, a very caitiff,—crown’d with care.”*

The decline of Queen Margaret has been well portrayed by the graphic pen of one old author, who says, “ Her blood, corrupted by so many sombre emotions, “ became like a poison, which infected all the parts “ that it should nourish ; her skin dried up, until it “ crumbled away in dust ; her stomach contracted, and “ her eyes, as hollow and sunken as if they had been “ driven into her head, lost all the fire, which had, for “ so long a time, served to interpret the lofty senti-

* Shakespeare.



CHÂTEAU DE DAMPIERRE, NEAR SAUMUR.

(To face page 371, vol. ii.)

“ments of her soul.”* What a picture of the once beautiful Queen Margaret!

This unfortunate heroine died of grief, at the Château de Dampierre, near Saumur, at the age of fifty-three, on the 25th of August, 1482.†

The mortal remains of this Princess were transported to the magnificent tomb of the “good King René,” her father, in the Church of St. Maurice, at Angers; but there was no epitaph, or inscription to her memory. The deficiency in this respect was, however, in some measure compensated by an annual ceremony performed there. Every year, at the feast of All Saints, the Chapter of St. Maurice, after vespers for the dead, perform a semicircular procession around the tomb, singing a subvenite for the unhappy Queen.‡

Twenty-three days before her decease, Queen Margaret confirmed by her will, dated August the 2nd, 1482, the conveyance of all her rights to her father’s territories, to the King of France, Louis XI.§

We are told that in the year 1783, when the decoration of the choir of the Church of St. Maurice was begun, the tomb containing the last remains of the “good King René,” and of his daughter, Queen Margaret of Anjou, was transferred beneath an arch of the nave of this Church, where it remained until the year 1793, the period of its destruction during the Revolution. The same author says, that the coffin of René was never removed from the vault, but still remains, along with two others, presumed to be those of his wife Isabella and his daughter Margaret. Another

1482.
Bodin ;
Toplis ;
Godard
Faultrier ;
Hume ;
Lingard.

* Bodin.

† Moreri ; Bodin ; Dom Calmet ; Baudier ; Baker ; Toplis ; Habington ; Lingard ; Hume ; Godard Faultrier ; Encyclopædia Britannica ; Female Worthies ; Bodin.

‡ Bodin ; Toplis ; Baudier ; Godard Faultrier ; Female Worthies ; Encyclopædia Britannica.

§ Carte.

writer informs us that the tomb of René was conveyed to the place where the altar *memoriale mortis* is situated.*

No Queen of England has ever enjoyed so great a meed of praise and admiration, and deservedly so, as Margaret of Anjou, for no other Queen has equalled her in character.

She has been extolled by all the writers of her times for her virtues, her beauty, her conjugal fidelity, and for her maternal love; for her patience under adversity, her courage and martial conduct; also, for her sympathy with the unfortunate, and earnestness in the advancement of those who needed her assistance; and above all for her persevering activity during her husband's misfortunes.

In early life her pride or ambition, we are told, made her aspire to one of the highest thrones in Europe; but, when so exalted, how soon did she exhibit her natural good sense and feeling, by her concealment of the weaknesses and failings of her husband, when he betrayed his inability to rule. Surely her readiness to assist the unfortunate Henry ought rather to call forth praise than blame, since it would naturally appear to her as the path of duty, especially being conscious of her own abilities for the position of command.

When established on the throne, Queen Margaret began by exerting great power over all who surrounded her, uniting to the regal sway her female influence, her personal charms not a little contributing to further her purposes.

The extreme youth of Margaret should be admitted in palliation of the faults which she committed in the

* "The architecture of St. Maurice is exquisite, and at this day, the fine painted glass and tapestry of the fifteenth century have happily remained uninjured from the civil wars."

It has been projected to re-establish the mausoleum of King René.
Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

commencement of her reign, and Henry's inability to govern caused her to be placed at the helm while she was yet unable to direct it. Her first step unfortunately, was to adopt a peculiar party in the kingdom ; but this eventually became the ruin of herself and of all her house.

When surrounded at her early age by trials and difficulties, her talents and energy enabled her to overcome them. She seized the reins of government with all the confidence of youth, not having gained the experience requisite for her position. While, however, she was assisted by the wise Cardinal of Winchester the public affairs were prosperous. But the death of Gloucester, followed by that of the Cardinal, left her alone to guide the helm.

The mysterious close of Gloucester's life (which remains an enigma in English history) first caused her unpopularity with the people. Nothing has been proved against the Queen in this affair ; although it may be admitted that she yielded to her prejudices against him, and sought to remove him from the King and his Council. In this it was her object to rule herself for King Henry. In allusion to this, one author writes that, " had she adopted the nobler part of succouring the oppressed party, her character would have shone with greater lustre to posterity ; " and in conclusion he infers that " she could not be guiltless, " for she might have saved the life of Gloucester. " Truly she could have been more perfect, but it is hard to judge another by what they might have done. She was besides influenced by the Cardinal and his party, who were the enemies of Gloucester. This Duke was, nevertheless, by contemporary writers said, to have died a natural death.

The epithets of arbitrary and tyrannical, so often applied to this Queen's early rule, doubtless by her

enemies, do not seem applicable to the daughter of the "good King René" and his noble consort, the former so distinguished by his refinements and clemency. The talents and courage, born and nursed, so to speak, in the very age and country of chivalry, would surely revolt from harshness and cruelty. It does not appear that any historian has dwelt on the peculiar difficulties of the situation of this Queen, united to a monarch who, far from assisting her by his advice in affairs of difficulty, required to be governed himself. Margaret was compelled, in addition to the responsibility and uncertainty of ruling a turbulent and rebellious people, to bear the weight of every unpopular measure herself, without the advice of ministers of worth, who, having the Lancastrian interest at heart, might have alleviated her anxiety.

Queen Margaret was more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She was not subject to the weaknesses of her sex; yet it is just to observe, that she has been charged with being "mutable and changeable." When in prosperous circumstances she assumed haughtiness, or imperiousness, on finding a reverse she could lay these aside, and employ all her personal charms, insinuation, persuasion, and address to gain over the people to her interests. The nobility were envious of Suffolk and Somerset, who engrossed all her favour. Having lost these favourites, her preference was shown to everybody who could render her service, or whose merits deserved her good opinion. In spite of her eminent beauty, we are told, that her look inspired terror in all those who displeased her.

Queen Margaret's surprising talents for war, her conduct as a general, her martial spirit, and her presence of mind in her adverse fortunes, all came with the troubles of her times, which, like the thorns around the

“Rose,” she patiently endured to preserve her crown. This she deserved to wear, but it was wrested from her. She had shown feminine weakness in the insurrection of Cade, but the utmost firmness in the conflicts which ensued. Her courage and intrepidity might have reflected honour on the most renowned generals of her age.

Some authors assure us that, her martial spirit was not seen until she found it was needful to protect her son. This, if it be the case, manifests her sincere maternal love.

It is needless to refer to the mysterious accounts of this Queen’s illicit intercourse with the Earl of Suffolk, which could only be the product of the malice of her enemies, and positively contradictory to all the tenour of her life. Also her genuine piety has never been disputed, any more than her moral fortitude.

Her destiny was to launch her little bark on the noontide of prosperity, and after tossing on the waves of a troubled ocean, to become at last a solitary wreck, lost to the world, and to herself, and like a bright meteor, to perish in oblivion. No monument was erected to her memory, and none was needed. As long as much worth, greatness of soul, filial duty, conjugal fidelity, and maternal tenderness have admirers amongst mankind, the name of Margaret of Anjou cannot be forgotten.

After the unsuccessful termination of the affairs of the Lancastrians, the young Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.) escaped from Wales in 1470, with his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke. They bent their course towards Normandy, but a tempest cast them on the coast of Brittany. Duke François II., hearing of their disaster, sent them an honourable escort, and caused them to be conducted to Vannes, where he received them with every demonstration of friendship.

King Edward required that these two noblemen should be delivered up to him ; but Duke François only promised that they should cause the King of England no disquietude. Having promised protection to these suppliants, he would not betray them, but they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement during the lifetime of King Edward IV. By this policy they were preserved ; and, in the reign of his successor, they reappeared in England, to inflict vengeance on the House of York.*

It was during Queen Margaret's residence at Dampierre that she was visited by Henry, Earl of Richmond ; and it was by the advice and instigation of the Lancastrian Queen that, this young nobleman was determined in his resolution to attempt the overthrow of the House of York ; in which purpose he was ultimately successful ; but Margaret did not live to witness his triumph.

John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, when he escaped, in 1485, from the castle of Hammes, after his long imprisonment, joined the Earl of Richmond, and subsequently fought in the battle of Bosworth, where he was captain of the archers. This Earl became a person of great importance in the state in the reign of Henry VII. He died in 1512, in the fourth year of Henry VIII.†

This nobleman experienced many vicissitudes in these stormy times, sometimes cast into the shade, at others enjoying a gleam of sunshine. His father had been deprived of his inheritance ; but his son, John de Vere, was restored to them, then attainted, and again after their being forfeited, again restored. Finally he died in possession of them. He is described as valiant, wise, magnificent, and learned, and also a religious

* Stow ; Philip de Comines : Roujoux's Brittany ; Lingard.

† Paston Letters.

man. His prudence and bravery contributed much to the success of the Lancastrian cause. When he escaped from the castle of Hammes, he persuaded the governor of this fortress to declare for the Earl of Richmond, and carried him to Paris, to vouch for his fidelity.

When Richard III. afterwards besieged the castle of Hammes, the Earl of Oxford gathered together a few troops in France, and proceeded to its relief; he had the gratification to carry the garrison, which surrendered to the Earl of Richmond.*

Jeanne de Laval, generally distinguished by the name of the Queen of Sicily, after the death of her husband, whom she survived many years, lived at her Château de Beaufort during eighteen years, employing herself in so many good works, that her memory has ever been cherished by the Angevines; who, even at the present day, still delight in attributing to her name (which has remained proverbial) everything great that was done in Anjou in the Middle Ages. They speak of her with affection in these days; and such was the interest she excited, that many buildings and acts have been attributed to her, in which she never participated. Amongst these we have the following instance. William de Haraucourt, Bishop of Verdun, invented a cage of wood, in 1469, some of which were used at the Bastille, two at the Château de Loches, and one at Angers. At this city the people, ever fond of the marvellous, were accustomed to call it the "cage of the Queen of Sicily," because they pretended that she had been imprisoned therein; and they sometimes persisted that her sabots,† beautifully sculptured and transparent, might be seen there in the daytime. But this Queen of Sicily was no other than Jeanne

* Rymer; Caister Castle.

† These sabots are now preserved in the Museum.

de Laval, who, however, had never been imprisoned.*

Jeanne de Laval had no children. She died at the Château de Beaufort, in 1498, and was interred by the side of René, in the church of St. Maurice at Angers; also her statue was placed by his upon the tomb.

At the feet of René had been carved a lion, the symbol of strength and courage; and at the feet of Queen Jeanne de Laval, his second wife, were placed two dogs, emblematical of fidelity.

The heart of Jeanne, "so full of love," says one author, "and so tenderly beloved," was deposited with the Cordeliers of Angers, in the chapel of St. Bernardin. Jeanne de Laval is represented on the painted glass windows of the Cordeliers at Angers.

In her escutcheon were seen, the arms of all her husband's states, and those of Laval.†

Jeanne de Laval, at her death, instituted as her heir, Guy, 15th Count of Laval, her brother, and after him Nicolas de Laval, Seigneur de la Roche.‡

With this Princess ended the second House of Anjou and Sicily.§

In the choir of St. Maurice at Angers reposed the ashes of Louis I. of Anjou, his wife Mary of Blois, and his second son Charles; Louis II. of Anjou, and his wife Yoland of Arragon; Louis III. of Anjou; René, his two wives, Isabella of Lorraine and Jeanne de Laval, and also his noble-minded son John, Duke of Calabria; lastly, were deposited there also, the remains of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England. Of these

* Godard Faultrier.

† Montfaucon; Morel; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Hist. de Montmorency et de Laval, par André du Chesne.

§ Beaufort was afterwards reunited to the crown.

eleven individuals, all so distinguished in their day, scarcely a vestige remains.*

From this period Anjou returned to the crown, and ceased to be an independent government. "The nationality of Anjou, gave place to the nationality of France." Some of the younger sons of France afterwards assumed the title of "Duke of Anjou," but only as apanagistes, viz., having only a useful enjoyment, with certain rights and revenues which were limited. Of these princes of the House of France, who bore the name of Anjou with the most *éclat*, were Edward, who became Henry III., and François, Duke of Alençon, his brother; Philip, grandson of Louis XIV., made King of Spain in 1700; Louis XV.; and Louis Stanislaus Xavier, Count of Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., who was the last apanagiste.†

Yoland of Anjou, the eldest daughter of René, and the wife of Ferri, Count de Vaudemont, the sister of Queen Margaret, became Duchess of Lorraine and Bar, which estates she inherited upon the death of her nephew, Nicolas of Anjou, in 1473. When her cousin Charles of Anjou died, this princess took the title of Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, and the escutcheon which belonged to John, Duke of Calabria, her brother. The Duchess of Lorraine did not long survive her father and sister; she died on the 21st February, 1483, at Nanci, at the age of fifty-seven,‡ and was interred in St. Laurent de Joinville.§

Margaret of Lorraine, the daughter of Yoland, and the grandchild of René, who had taken such pleasure in giving her instruction, employed herself in the education of her son and daughters, in a manner

* Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

† Godard Faultrier.

‡ Dom Calmet says her age was 55, but this must be an error, as we cannot doubt the historians who speak of her birth in 1426.

§ Dom Calmet; Moreri; Montfaucon.

suitably to their birth, and with high sentiments of religion. After the death of her husband, she solaced herself in her retirement by the exercise of piety and the care of the poor ; and having founded a charitable institution at Argenton, she daily conversed with the holy sisters, and with her own hands, distributed her gifts to the indigent ; she even condescended to serve them at table, and bathe their wounds, without showing any symptoms of disgust. Finally, she retired to the convent of St. Clair, putting on the habit of the order of that establishment, in the presence of her son, the Duke of Alençon, and the Bishop of Sées, but declaring that, in taking this habit, she did not pretend to greater poverty than formerly : for which she assigned three reasons, 1st, that she would preserve the power of still recompensing her servants as they deserved ; 2ndly, that she might be able to pay the debts of her husband ; and 3rdly, to finish the building, &c., of the monastery where she desired to live and die.

This declaration she made only that she might perform more perfectly the three solemn vows she had taken.

This pious Duchess of Lorraine died on All-Saints' Day, in 1521, leaving a great example of virtue, charity, contempt of the world, and of perfect devotion.*

Cicely, Duchess of York, the daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, survived her husband, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, many years. Her life, an eventful one, extended beyond that of her son, King Edward IV. ; and if her ambition was to behold her family enjoy the regal dignity, the measure of her days afforded ample opportunity for the contemplation of the "ills which flesh is heir to." She first witnessed the vain struggle for power which her husband originated, and which brought his defeat and death ; then

* Dom Calmet.

her own son's contentions, usurpations, cruelties, and untimely death. These succeeded one by one, and sorrowful indeed must have been the heart of the widow and mother of that house which brought such cruel strife amongst her kindred and through every portion of her native land. Cicely, of Raby, died in May, 1495, at an advanced age, at her castle of Berkhamsted, and was buried near her husband, in the choir of the collegiate church of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire.*

The romantic fortunes of Elizabeth Woodville may, by some, have been thought to have been great happiness; but let those who too highly estimate exalted rank, contemplate her subsequent reverses—how, at first she drew upon herself the envy of the nobility, which was ultimately the cause of King Edward's flight, and in whose absence she gladly took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster, and there gave birth to a son, the heir to the throne.

She survived her husband, and afterwards had the misfortune to witness the cruel murder of her two infant sons; and finally, she was herself confined in the Monastery of Bermondsey, in Southwark, and her effects confiscated by her own son-in-law.†

John de la Pole, the son of the Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV. His son became Earl of Lincoln, and afterwards joined in the rebellion of Lambert Simnel, and was killed in battle in 1487. His brother Edmund, the last who bore the title of Earl of Suffolk, having excited the suspicions of Henry VII., was imprisoned by this monarch during seven years in the Tower of London, and was finally put to death by Henry VIII. With this nobleman expired the honours of that family; which arose, in the time of Edward III., from a mer-

* Paston Letters.

† Baker.

cantile station, and flourished during a period of 120 years. The handsome palace in Hull, called Suffolk Palace, and all the family possessions were confiscated to the crown. The town of Hull was much indebted for its prosperity to this family.* John de la Pole died in 1491.†

There were other partizans of the House of Lancaster, the chief of whom, when they had lost all hope of maintaining this cause, after the death of King Henry VI. and his son, and the capture of Queen Margaret, condescended to implore the mercy of King Edward. No longer having a rival to fear, this monarch listened to their petitions, reversed their attainders in the next Parliament, and sought to render some of them useful to him.

Of these were Dr. Morton, parson of Bokesworth, and Sir John Fortescue, the Lord Chief Justice. They had both been present in the battle of Towton, and had been attainted in the following Parliament.

Their petitions to the King were very similar, and were thus expressed:—"They are as sorrowful and "repentant as any creature may be, for whatever "they have done to the displeasure of the King's "highness; and protest they are, and ever will be, "true liegemen and obeissant subjects to him, their "sovereign lord."

King Edward had already granted to Morton his pardon, and, knowing his talents, he made him Keeper of the Rolls, and afterwards preferred him to the bishopric of Ely. The attachment of Morton to the sons of Edward, his benefactor, drew on him the displeasure of Richard III., and at a subsequent period his counsels led to the deposition of the usurper, and the termination of civil discord by the marriage of Henry VII. to the daughter of Edward IV.,

* Allen's York ; Biographia Britannica.

† Paston Letters.

and thus were united the Houses of York and Lancaster.*

Henry, Lord Percy, the son and heir of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who lost his life in the battle of Towton, continued to be styled Lord Percy, although his father had been attainted. He was fully restored to his title and honours in 1472, and his father's attainder made void.

In the year 1488 this nobleman was murdered by a tumultuous mob, in Yorkshire.†

Charles VIII., in 1492, was inspired with the desire of making the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; and after meditating on this enterprise during two years, and several times abandoning it, he set out for Italy in 1494.

The claims of this monarch were founded thus:—René of Anjou, heir to Joanna II., Queen of Naples, had left to Charles, Count of Maine, Provence and all his rights to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; and this Count had made Louis XI. his successor.

The princes of Italy all united in this war, each one according to his private interest.

King Charles marched to Rome, and entered that city in triumph; he made an easy conquest of the kingdom of Naples, with which the Pope invested him, although he was the enemy of the French. He also crowned him Emperor of Constantinople.

But all these rapid conquests, which occupied this King but six months, were again lost to him in as short a space of time.‡

* Lingard; Rot. Parl.

† Paston Letters.

‡ Eccles. Hist.; Montfaucon; Hallam; Universal Hist.

CHAPTER X.

Review of the Fifteenth Century—Causes of the Wars of the Roses—
Religion—Politics—Literature—Arts and Sciences—Manners and
Customs.

IN the concluding pages of this volume it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to take a summary review of England during the fifteenth century, the period in which King Henry VI. and Queen Margaret reigned in this country. Many were the peculiarities of that age, and singular the contrast afforded to the present century of modern refinement; its religion being then guided by the Papal power, and its forms Roman Catholic, though becoming modified by the exercise of private judgment, through the light of the Reformers. Then came the interference of religion with politics and with monarchical rule, and, what was still more astonishing, the part it took in the wars of the times. The three divisions of Western Europe at this time most prominent were France and Spain, Germany divided into monarchical states, and Italy into small principalities and republics.

The fifteenth century was a remarkable epoch, especially interesting as preceding the times of the Reformation, in which, from the midst of darkness, infatuation, and superstition, the light of Christianity shone forth. In the ages preceding, the Holy Scriptures had not been universally read. The clergy, king, and men of high rank, whose minds were, however, enlightened by Holy Writ, had greater power to rule

by its precepts, and thus gained an especial influence over the multitude, who seemed grovelling in darkness and superstition. One of the greatest blessings resulting from the Reformation, was the "free circulation of the Word of God." Also it effected a "diminution of cruel punishments," and, lastly, it "raised the tone of morals;" while the blessing of God, which He gave to the nations zealous in this cause, was manifested in the enjoyment of civil liberty.

In the preceding century, the Roman Catholic religion had prevailed throughout Christendom. The Pope had exerted his power to subject all the kingdoms to his rule, some of which yielded to his domination, whilst others resisted it. In England the papal doctrines prevailed, although the new opinions of Wickliffe and other Reformers had begun to pave the way for the Reformation. England could, however, scarcely be charged at this time with entire subserviency to Rome, when we remember the stream of legislation continuously poured forth against the papal usurpations, the influence of Wickliffe, and also that Lollardism had not yet been effectually suppressed.*

There was, at various times in England, a strong resistance to the papal influence, and especially to the Pope's exactions from the clergy, which occasioned much subterfuge, and even led to open disobedience on their part, as they sought to fortify themselves with laws against the court of Rome.

Of this we have an instance, in the early part of the reign of Henry VI., when "the Bishop of Winchester did presumptuously, as Legate of the Pope, "enter this land contrary to the law, and it was publicly made known by the King's Procurator, Richard

* The Debate.

“Caudroy, that this was not by the King’s consent, or by the advice of his Council. Neither would they assent to the exercise of his authority Legatine, or to any future acts contrary to the laws and liberties of the realm.” The same document states also, that, “the King, and his predecessors on the throne, had ever preserved the special privilege and custom observed in the realm, that no Legate from the Apostolic See should enter this land except by the request and desire of the King; thus, had the Cardinal of St. Eusebius (Henry, Bishop of Winchester), as the Pope’s Legate, presumptuously done, without being called, or sent for by the King, who had no intent to approve of his thus coming in derogation of the laws, nor would he assent to the exercise of his authority Legatine, or to any attempts, or acts contrary to the laws and liberties of this realm.” *

The Bishop of Winchester had, notwithstanding, great control over his sovereign, and much of the violent ecclesiastical transactions of this epoch were attributable to the undue influence gained by the clergy over their monarch, in this, and the two preceding reigns.

The strength and wealth of the country for a time remained wholly in the hands of the clerical authorities. It was necessarily an ecclesiastical government, and each successive King, who courted its influence, only augmented its abuses, and increased the oppression of every other class in the state. It was in vain that the Barons, in the incursion into Wales, in 1403, proposed to the King, who was in difficulties, to seize upon a portion of the riches of those members of the clergy who accompanied them, and employ it for the common good; they were overruled by the pri-

* Fox’s Martyrs, or Eccles. Hist.

mate Arundel, who menaced with awful retribution any who should dare to touch the effects of the Church. It was also in vain, that in a Parliament held at Coventry, in 1404, the Commons represented to Henry IV. in the House of Lords the excessive riches of the clergy, and prayed that the wealthy prelates might be taxed, for the demands of the state. In this instance, Arundel is reported to have fallen on his knees before the King, and besought him to remember his coronation oath of protection to the Church; and finally the Commons were obliged "to beg pardon for their presumption!"* Again the Commons exemplified the same presumption and weakness, in the Parliament at Westminster, in 1409, in which his Majesty was informed, that the superfluous estates of the bishops, abbots, and clergy would support fifteen earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, and one hundred hospitals. We are told that the Peers presented a counter-petition, while that of the Commons was rejected. At last, however, the attention of Henry V. was drawn to the subject in the year 1415, when he commanded the University of Oxford to make out a catalogue of abuses, to be presented to the Council of Constance. It contained forty-six articles for reformation, and represented particularly the avarice and profligacy of the clerical body. But if the father of Henry VI. was disposed to listen to the voice of his distressed people in this matter, the case was far different with his immediate successor, Edward IV., who, to gain the support of the affluent clergy, actually made a charter, which placed everyone in Holy Orders without the pale of the law, and enabled them to commit all manner of crimes with impunity. The consequence was, the most gross violation of every decorum of society, by a class of "vile reprobates and

* Henry's Hist. of Great Britain.

“ignorant vagabonds,” for such were the epithets used by the Primate in his description of them. This was Archbishop Bouchier, who was himself able to effect some degree of reformation, though only temporary. Superstition and profaneness were often united in the religious belief of the Middle Ages.*

England was at this time divided, ecclesiastically, into two provinces, and the Archbishop of York, as well as of Canterbury, had each the power of making canons for his own province, which were not always conformable to those of the other See.

Some very singular laws were constituted in 1466, by Neville, Archbishop of York, which show the various religious tenets of this period. Neville details thirty-seven sins which could be pardoned only by the Pope, or a bishop, of which the first, and greatest, was heresy. Pope Martin V., in 1427, had published several Bulls against the support of the law *premunire* by the Parliament of England.† The object of this law was to prevent the Pope from disposing of all the benefices in the kingdom, which he seemed to consider as part of his prerogative.

The usurpation of undue authority at this period, in both Church and State, seems to have been the main root of evil, from which sprung the hatred and revenge that soon desolated the land. Indeed it is with kings and potentates as with individuals of inferior rank, the greater their power and influence, the greater their responsibility; and proportionate is the reward, or chastisement, of the good or bad exercise of their authority.

Many writers have been led to suggest as the true source, whence arose the cruel and lengthened contest

* Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

† In these Bulls it appears that he treated Chicheley, and even Henry the Sixth himself, as his menial.

between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the usurpation of Henry IV.; and, if correct, this crime was indeed severely visited on his descendant. The meek and holy King Henry VI., inheriting the natural imbecility of his maternal grandfather, Charles VI., was incapable of maintaining his regal dignity, and his crown, and incurred the penalty of the ambition and usurpation of his headstrong predecessor.*

Again, this dreadful era of war and confusion, some authors have traced back, only to the times of Henry V., to which period they have looked for the causes of the quarrels of the "Roses."

In the first year of this monarch's reign, he had issued his commands for the seizure of the effects, and confiscation of the property, of Henry, Lord Scrope, of Masham, whose head was placed on the top of Micklegate Bar, York. When this nobleman was beheaded, the same fate befell Sir Thomas Gray, and the Earl of Cambridge, for high treason, at Southampton. This Earl of Cambridge had married the heiress of the House of York. Hence came the claims of Richard, Duke of York, which availed him in his contests with the reigning monarch, and against which, the latter was unable to remove the original defect in his own descent.†

The long minority of Henry VI. and his feeble character, added to his exclusion from affairs of state, left ample room for the dissensions of his uncles, and for the indulgence of the pride and grasping ambition of the ancient nobles of the land.‡ The peculiar quality of a "wise man," namely contentment, is seldom found with the wealthy; envy and discord too often arise with the means for self-indulgence, and chase it away to the modest retreats of mediocrity, or

* Allen's York; Leigh's Kings.

† Allen's York; Lingard.

‡ Lingard.

to the humble dwelling of the peasant. From the evil passions of the human heart have always originated the contentions of factions, or parties, which, bringing in civil dissensions, have been more injurious to a country, than even foreign war, famine, or pestilence.*

It was a distinguishing characteristic of this age, that the divines took an active part in the religious wars; and strange indeed appeared the conjunction of the two professions, the religious and military. It was not enough, that with pretended zeal for their holy callings, they should burn human beings alive, but they must rush with *pater nosters* on their lips, to strike down their fellow-man in the field of carnage. There seems less excuse for this, because the members of the military profession, were all "sworn to defend God's law against infidels, as their primary and standing duty." Writers on the Middle Ages have compared the knightly, to the priestly character, in an elaborate parallel, and the investiture of the one, was supposed to be analogous to the ordination of the other.

The quarrels of families were a fertile source of the evils which prevailed at this period of anarchy. The feuds of some of the high-born families of England, had great influence in general society. Their personal quarrels were not settled, as in after days, by an appeal to the laws, or even decided by arbitration, but often the sword was drawn, and hundreds of the retainers of these powerful families were involved in these feuds, and many even became victims of the result of indulgence of their passions or follies. Such outrages were frequent in the early part of the reign of Henry VI.

One of them has been especially narrated by the old chroniclers. It was a violent quarrel between two

* Pol. Vergil.

branches of the Neville family, supported by three members on each side, two of them being earls, one a countess, and the fourth a baron, nearly connected with the richest and most influential families in the kingdom.* Their feud assumed “the appearance of a civil war; they proceeded against each other by manner of war and insurrection, and assembled in great routs and companies in the field, committing horrible offences, both in the slaughter and destruction of the King’s subjects as otherwise.” The King’s commands were issued to suppress this alarming riot; but all the chroniclers and biographers are silent as to its conclusion, as well as to its origin.

The most probable cause would seem to have been, a claim upon some lands, the parties being all descendants of the Earl of Westmoreland; those on the one side, from his first wife; and those on the other, being the two sons of his widow. This family feud appears to have occurred between the years 1432 and 1440, the date of the death of Joan, Countess of Westmoreland.†

“The strong attachments also, which, at this period, men of the same relationship bore towards each other, and the vindictive spirit which prevailed amongst those of opposite interests, to indulge which they regarded as a point of honour, caused the high families to be implacable, and widened every breach between them.”‡

Civil war is never the product of the tyrannical commands of one, or more of the reigning despots of the age; and thus the anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Henry VI. was not the ebullition of a

* See “Appendix.” The genealogy of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland.

† Bentley’s *Excerpta Historica*.

‡ Hume.

moment, excited by the call of one or more influential persons, but the result of a long succession of party animosities and family resentments, which, amidst the misgovernment of bad ministers, like a pent-up vapour, suddenly burst into a flame, and the high-born chiefs, who had been ever ready to retaliate their petty injuries and insults, when once drawn out into the field, fought with desperation, forgetful of the ties of kindred and of human nature.

In proof of this may be adduced the conduct of Somerset, and many others, who vacillated between the two parties. This Duke was attached to the Lancastrian interests, on account of his personal hatred to the House of York; but he was seen to change sides, although he was himself the representative of the House of Lancaster, should King Henry's issue fail.

“Margaret of Anjou's favouritism, and spirit of political intrigue, hastened the crisis which the disputes and jealousies of the feudal aristocracy of England were already preparing;” but it is an erroneous idea, entertained by some, that the Wars of “the Roses” resulted from the mismanagement of the reins of government by this energetic Queen. Intestine war is like a consuming flame, ever indiscriminate in its objects, but its appearance is always preceded by a long train of evils, discontent, miseries, hatred, variance, not of a few, but many individuals; until the kindling spark is given by some unforeseen, perhaps trivial incident; thus arose the contests of York and Lancaster.

The great wealth and power of the clergy, even superior to that of the King, or the aristocracy, caused them to be so firmly established, that they could not be shaken except by a convulsion in the country. The system they pursued was to prevent the union of

the crown and the nobility, which they considered and felt dangerous to themselves, and induced them to join the House of Lancaster, which had deposed Richard II. By this means they followed up, under the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., a course of persecution, imprisonment, and burning, which, by supplying continual fuel to the discontents of the nation, contributed greatly to the intestine wars of the Yorkists and Lancastrians.*

One modern writer, after alluding to the political changes which succeeded the feudal times, goes on to say, that "from the peculiar and extraordinary systems of those times, resulted, almost as naturally, as cause and effect, the state of this, and the ensuing period."

It has been aptly expressed, "*que c'est du frottement des idées, que sort la lumière!*" Thus from the agitation of European kingdoms was elicited stability and order. The wars of families brought about changes in governments, and the increase of kingly power in France, in England, and in Spain; the monarchs, with their ambitious relatives, leading on the warfare. First the wars of the English in France, then the French war called, "*du bien public*," and then the wars, of "*the Roses*," in England. When these wars were terminated, the laws and institutions of society were established on a more permanent basis, family rivalries were annihilated, and the unity of the state conferred tranquillity. Thus terminated the fifteenth century; but if during this period the influence of religion had been great, it became still more powerful in the following era.†

In the early ages of Christianity the heavenly doctrines of Our Lord, arose upon the heathen world, like the mild light of the rising sun, gradually extending

* Sharon Turner's Middle Ages.

Van Praet's Essay on Political History.

its beams over the broad expanse. The purest of moral creeds, sent forth from Our Saviour, was, through his Apostles, instilled into the minds and hearts of all true disciples, who manifested their faith, by love and good works. Man felt for his fellow-man, and his brother's affliction became his own; thus, a new and spiritual life, cast a benign aspect over the existence of mankind. But human degradation prevailed, and paganism and tyranny raised persecutions and terror amongst the early Christians, and the Apostles, following in the way of their Master, one by one, suffered. Their bright examples no longer led the way to true devotion and self-sacrifice, and a cloud of oppression rapidly dispelled the transcendent light which had been diffused at Our Lord's first advent. Numerous bishops then ruled the church, seeking, but vainly, to supply apostles' rule; then sects arose, and much division, one calling himself of Paul, another of Apollos, and all forgetful of the unity of the One Body of Christ. Soon came division amongst the shepherds of the flock, with the grasping of earthly power, and the mingling of secular honours with their clerical office,—St. Peter's chair filled unworthily, and his position disputed, until two, and even three, arrogated this high authority. No wonder that a gloomy obscurity overspread the Christian hemisphere in succeeding centuries, since divine truth became hidden by the grossest superstition, and ignorance, and spiritual darkness, universally prevailed. Such was the condition of the Christian world in the fifteenth century!

This era commenced with the persecutions of the Waldenses, many of whom were murdered, and others starved to death.* Then succeeded the persecutions of the "Lollards," the followers of one of the early reformers, Wickliffe. His doctrines met with great oppo-

* Milner's Church History.

sition in England; but, protected by the Duke of Lancaster, he had escaped the severities directed against him by Courtney, Bishop of London, whose vengeance, however, fell upon the unfortunate Lollards. None of them had yet suffered death, although these persecutions had been sanctioned by Richard the Second; but in his reign the power of his consort, Anne of Bohemia, and of the Duke of Lancaster, had prevented these cruelties, the former being a patroness of the Wickliffites, and styled the link between Wickliffe and Huss.*

The Lollards, by exposing the disorders of the clergy, occasioned much discord. These abuses were not reformed; but an apprehension arose, that Henry IV. would abridge the privileges of the clergy. A revolt followed, headed by the Archbishop of York, who was punished with death.†

Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had crowned Henry IV., commenced, with the support of his sovereign, a powerful persecution of the Lollards. The first victims for their opposition to popery, were Sir William Sawtree,‡ who was burnt to death in 1400; and another, named Thomas Badley, in 1409. After this Arundel continued to pursue his plans, for the extirpation of the Lollards, being sanctioned by the new King, Henry V.; and Lord Cobham fell a sacrifice to their vengeance.

Henry V. was, however, naturally averse to cruelty, and had in private listened to the opinions of Lord Cobham, who had frequently appeared before the heads of the clergy concerning his faith. He boldly spoke of his belief in the gospel of Christ uncorrupted by human institutions. He ventured to expose the follies, and to smile at the threatenings of the Church, which he considered repugnant to the truth. By this conduct he

* Milner's Church History.

† Eccles. Hist.

‡ He was rector of St. Oswyth, London.

raised the resentment of Archbishop Chicheley, who committed him to prison. A Parliament was called to prosecute the Lollards, and while the King was following his wars with France, Chicheley was domineering over the Church at home. This continued from 1414 to 1443. Chicheley was even supported in his measures for a time by the King's brother, the Duke of Bedford. In order the more effectually to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrines, the clergy attacked the principal promulgator, Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, and sought to persuade King Henry, that the Lollards were conspiring against the throne, and state. There was indeed a meeting in St. Giles's fields of 20,000 men, headed by Sir John Oldcastle, and the King, at length, was prevailed on to think he was taking a treasonable part.*

At this time in Germany, as well as in England, the cupidity of the government was called forth by the wealth of the clergy; while in Italy the taxes were paid by the priests, in common with the other citizens, and often in a greater proportion; thus, "no one thought of despoiling them, and no jealousy seconded the projects of the Reformers."

This country was the first, however, to assert religious independence; and while indifferent to the reform of the Church, feared not the menaces of the Popes at this period, when their threats and excommunications made all other powers in Europe to tremble.†

France suffered for some years the papal exactions, but, at length, the decrees of the Council of Basle, caused her to assert her independence; and the famous Pragmatic Sanction was enacted by Charles VII. By this law a general council was declared superior to the Pope; bishops were freely elected, grants in expect-

* Fox's Hist. of Christian Martyrdom.

† Sismendi.

ancy, and reservation of benefices were taken away, and first-fruits abolished.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) used every means to get this ordinance repealed, and finally prevailed with Louis XI.; who, partly out of hatred to his father's memory, and partly from a delusive hope that the Pope would support the Angevine cause in Naples, repealed the Pragmatic Sanction.* This law has been deemed a sort of Magna Charta of the Gallican church; for, although it was so speedily abrogated, its principle has remained fixed, as the basis of ecclesiastical liberty.†

The Angevines were deeply interested in the decisions of the Council of Basle, which occurred about the time of René of Anjou's accession. This assembly of distinguished persons, during twelve years, held forty-five sessions. Its object was not only the union of the Greek and Roman churches, but also, the universal reformation of the church, both in its head and in its members.‡

In England there were but fourteen bishops, and two archbishops, if we omit the Welsh bishoprics, and that of Sodor and Man; the former of these was the last to assert independence, and the latter was bestowed on the Stanley family by King Henry IV. In the public councils of this kingdom, especially in Parliament, the clergy had great influence; and as their numbers exceeded that of the laity, they could carry their own views without opposition. The bishops were expected to attend at all the meetings of Parliament. The power they obtained was not so much effected by their superior knowledge and holiness, which they did not much affect, but was the result of their constant residence in this country, and of their attendance at these councils,

* Hallam's Mid. Ages.

† Hallam.

‡ Godard Faultrier.

while the nobility and great men were absent, being engaged in the wars with France, or Scotland. Twenty-five abbots and their priors were summoned to each Parliament, and even more, which doubled the number of the lords spiritual over those temporal. Thus did the clergy obtain sanguinary laws, punish heretics, and preserve their immense possessions.*

Yielding to their cruel dispositions, the clergy passed sentence of death on Lord Cobham, both as a traitor and a heretic. He was led from the Tower, on the day of his execution, with his arms tied behind him, and drawn on a hurdle into St. Giles's fields. Resigned and cheerful, he prayed for God's forgiveness of his enemies, and then addressed the people, and conjured them to observe the laws of God, as delivered in the Scriptures; then with Christian resignation he gave himself up to his fate. He was hanged in chains, on a new gallows, under which a fire was lighted, to torment him by a lingering death, while impious monks, and priests, sent forth curses and imprecations at the time their noble victim was expiring by the flames. Such was the treatment of Lord Cobham from his enemies, who pretended to be ministers of the gospel of peace! †

The rapacity of the Popes, and the profligacy of the Court of Rome, were excessive. The following account has been given by two well-known historians:—Denina assures us, that, "the licentiousness of the clergy became excessive, and universal from the time that the scandals of Avignon had removed all restraint and shame;" and Sismondi also declares that, "that people, and that court, made themselves manners, out of the vices of all other nations." These historians do not exceed the testimony of contemporary authorities.

* The Debate; Henry's Hist. Great Britain.

† Throsby's Leicester.

The city of Avignon, at one time, became the seat of papal power.* It had been purchased of Queen Joanna of Naples (who was also Countess of Provence), in the time of her poverty, for 80,000 golden florins, by Clement VI., who thus obtained this valuable possession, and there completed the splendid palace commenced by Benedict XII. At this period the cardinals began to imitate the luxury of the popes.† Then came the grand schism of the Roman Catholic church, and divided the church for about forty years; this only terminated in 1429, and hastened the decline of the papal power.

Catholic despotism led to a threat of appeal to a general council. "That there was a power superior "to the Pope, *within the church*," was a principle which had many advocates, even in the ecclesiastical body. Attempts were made at reformation, and the means of education were multiplied; then arose divisions and heresies. The flagrant conduct of the clergy, and especially of the popes, and cardinals, aroused many reflective minds to a sense of their unworthiness. Intellectual men, who looked to the examples of the early Christians, and who walked in the fear of God, sought, with earnest zeal, to ameliorate the spiritual condition of mankind. They had no longer the rule of Apostles, nor the prophetic light to guide them; but they yielded to the benevolence of their characters, and looking, in the simplicity of faith, to their Lord, they raised a kind of reflected light over the ignorance, superstition, and darkness which surrounded them.

Mosheim,‡ who has diligently and profoundly studied the subject of the early reformers, tells us, that the Lollards were a society of pious laymen at Antwerp,

* The Holy See, transferred to Avignon, lasted there for seventy years.

† Denina; Sismondi; Waddington's Ch. Hist.

‡ Eccles. Hist.

whose object was to visit the sick, and bury the dead, during a time of pestilence, when the clergy neglected to fulfil their duties, because they were attended with danger. The good motives, and religious actions of this new sect, obtained throughout Flanders and Germany, not only the respect of the magistrates, but the love of the inhabitants. "The clergy were excited to jealousy, especially the mendicants, who found their own profits diminished by this charity; and clamours were raised against them. They were denounced at the pontifical throne, and their names passed to designate, sanctified hypocrites. They were afterwards persecuted in Austria."*

One unfortunate Lollard, named John Claydon, a furrier of London, suffered death. He was tried and burnt at Smithfield, on the 19th of August, 1415. Heretical books were produced on the evidence, and one in particular, called "The Lantern of Light," was declared to contain fifteen heresies. After this followed a general prosecution of the Lollards. Immense numbers were imprisoned and cruelly tormented; but from this time they appear to have cherished their opinions in secret, or, if exposed, they recanted, as was the case with Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, in the reign of Henry VI., already detailed in this history. The persecutions to which this highly talented man was subjected, reflect little credit on the primacy of Archbishop Bouchier, or the character of the contemporary clergy. Bouchier would seem to have been favourable to the Roman Pontiff, and his conduct to the unfortunate Bishop was dictated by political as well as religious motives.

The following account has been given by one of our old chroniclers of the doctrines of Reginald Peacock, which awakened such general enmity against him:—

* Mosheim.

“Some say he held that spiritual persons by God’s law ought to have no temporal possessions, nor that personal titles, by God’s law, were due; nor that Christian men were to believe in the Catholic church, nor in the communion of saints; but, to believe that a Catholic church, and a communion of saints there is,” and that he held, “how the universal church *might err* in matters of faith, and that it is not of necessity, to believe all that is ordained by general councils; nor, all that which they call the universal church ought to be allowed and holden of all Christian people. Moreover, that it was meet to every man, to understand the Scriptures in the true and plain sense.”*

Reginald Peacock, however, after much persecution, and to save his life, recanted his opinions, and at length sided with the Pope, who, at this time, had succeeded in silencing the Councils.

The bad conduct of the Roman Pontiffs, of whom two, and even three, appeared at one time, in the antagonistic character, gave rise to the forming of Councils, for the direction of the Church. First, in A.D. 1409, was the Council of Pisa, when Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, and Alexander elected. Secondly, the Council of Constance, in 1414, when Martin V. was elected Pope.† Thirdly, the Council of Basle, in 1431. These grand Councils had declared that the Pope was the servant of the Church, and answerable to her, for his conduct in a general Council. He might even be deposed by the bishops representing the different Churches.

When the Pope subsequently triumphed over the Councils, and silenced them, he asserted the opposite

* Holinshed.

† At this time John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned to be burnt.

principle, viz., that the Pope was the source of all power.

The last struggle between the Pope and the Councils was in the reign of Henry the Sixth; and the real offence of Peacock (whose history has been related) was this, that in order to make the Pope the sole bishop in the Church, he laboured to depress the authority of the general Councils. After this, Martin and his successors maintained the supremacy of the Pope, and the Councils having been defeated, the Western Church gradually yielded to the Pope; but this had not been completely accomplished in either the Gallican or the Anglican Church by the papal party before the period of the Reformation.*

Our astonishment and indignation in these days of humanity, if we may so style them, will be naturally great, while reading of the fanatical excesses of the holy fathers of that period, and more particularly of that wicked and cruel act of bigotry, the practice of burning human beings alive for heresies in faith. Even if it were not coupled with the ignorance of the Middle Ages, even if there were indisputable proof, that the Church of Rome was the only true Church, we could not contemplate this act, as other than brutal, barbarous, and disgusting in the utmost degree. These acts seem to have belonged, almost always, to the fanaticism of the Roman Catholics. Such cruel deeds cannot be too much held up to the general odium of mankind; and they must have been, at least, an aggravation to the wars of the fifteenth century, in which the burning of the heroic Maid of Orleans, at its commencement, would almost lead to the decision that this was a barbarous age.

“The ravages of Attila were less fatal to the Church of France, than those of England in the fifteenth century.

* Hook's Archbishops.

“Christianity found no solid tie amongst a people, who
 “professed and gloried in warfare, and dreadful were the
 “evils brought upon France, by the long and cruel wars
 “of Henry V. This monarch’s sole motive had been
 “ambition, and the invasion of France caused much
 “disorder and confusion in the Church. The English
 “nation was next visited by the judgments of God.
 “By the death of Henry V. England became the seat
 “of intestine divisions, while the French gained time
 “to respire, and found means to recover their
 “territories.”*

When Church and State fail to preserve their relative position to each other, many evils arise. In the countries where the papal dominion has been disregarded, the Church has been controlled and oppressed by the State; while the contrary has resulted in the dominions of the Pope, in which its oppressive government has absorbed the powers and offices of state. Ignorance of their relative duties was the occasion in the fifteenth century of much interference on the part of the clergy with affairs of state, and in England, especially, involved both in the party strife of that period. Churchmen often failed to show the example of obedience to authority, and to set forth a life of holiness; thus they were unable to inculcate in others religious and moral principles, for while the Church should instruct men, the State should uphold and aid the Church, to carry out her high and holy vocation.

It is worthy of remark how seldom Christians in those unhappy times, respected the sacred ties which attached them to their sovereigns. When a people are unfaithful to God, there is truly great reason to fear they will become so, also to their King.†

There can be little doubt that the agitations and

* Eccles. Hist.

† Ibid.

contentions on religious subjects throughout England, greatly augmented in those "troublesome times" the disrespect shown to King Henry the Sixth, whose excellent qualities and meek disposition rendered him worthy of a better fate. This monarch at last preserved but the bare title of King, yet "as the dignity of a "Prince consisteth in his sovereignty," so Henry being unable to rule, his prerogative was taken from him by his nobility, as it were by stealth, each turbulent and ambitious spirit rising up to gratify its individual passions at the expense of the country, some, effecting this by sundry indirect practices, others, by open force.*

We cannot be surprised at the frequent and strong resistance to the authority of the Pope in this country, when we consider the dreadful anathemas so often issued from the papal throne against those who transgressed. Also the mortifying atonements to which persons, even of exalted rank, were subjected, and which showed the force in those times of ecclesiastical censures.

These severe decrees of the Roman Catholic Church might be called the stepping-stones which, in the Middle Ages led on, from darkness and ignorance to the light of the Reformation.

The delegates of the Pope in England had also, the power to pronounce anathemas on such as were offenders. An instance of this is given in the life of Chicheley. The Archbishop having held a Synod in 1417, at the dismissal, gave a mandate to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to denounce a solemn anathema against certain persons unknown who had murdered three priests within the sanctuary of that cathedral.

The revenging of personal wrongs was carried to such an extreme in the Middle Ages, as to afford many instances of the forgetfulness in men's minds of Our

* Malcolm.

Lord's doctrine of forgiveness of sins. Thus we read of frequent outrages in churches, and affrays, too violent to be appeased. One of these occurred in 1459 in the Cathedral of St. Peter's, at Exeter, between some young gentlemen, and many of them being grievously wounded, this church was closed, being generally considered to be unhallowed, and polluted by bloodshed; and the services were suspended, by orders of the Dean and Chapter, until the building was consecrated anew. In the absence of the Diocesan, they procured one Thomas, who was then suffragan to the Bishop of Bath, to restore it as before.*

Life for life was the law of the Middle Ages, and the widow, or relations of a murdered person had the right, which society converted into an imperative duty, to avenge his death. This right was established in Europe, although differently regulated, according to municipal law,† and in England modified by Magna Charta, and other ancient statutes. Its power was so great, as even to set aside the royal prerogative of mercy; for when a criminal was condemned under this law, the king could not extend his forgiveness to the culprit.

In the religion of the Middle Ages, the obscurity of men's minds caused them to exhibit an entire forgetfulness of the Advent of Our Lord; but there was often a greater observance of the Old Law and Jewish ceremonies.

Customs and privileges were adopted which were even established, and confirmed for centuries, through the superstition and ignorance of those times. One of the most remarkable of these in Europe, was a custom which prevailed at Rouen, in Normandy, from a very early period until the French Revolution. It may be

* Life of Chicheley; Izaak's Exeter.

† This right was not abolished in this country until the present century.

traced by authentic documents more than six hundred years.* This custom was called the privilege of St. Romain, or “La Fierté,” according to which “in every year, on the day of Ascension, a prisoner was selected by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and delivered up to them by the magistrates; and after many solemn ceremonies and a procession, in which figured an immense dragon called *la gar-gonille*, the prisoner received a full pardon.”†

This privilege was confirmed by many distinguished monarchs, amongst whom were Henry the Fourth, of France, and Henry the Fifth and Sixth, of England, also by members of noble families in Normandy, besides several Englishmen.‡

The early history of Scotland shows, that the ordination of Scotch bishops took place in their own country, but afterwards, the Bishops of St. Andrew’s were consecrated by the Archbishop of York; and successively, until Pope Calixtus IV. made the Bishop of St. Andrew’s Primate of all Scotland, appointing twelve bishops under him. This took place in the primacy of George Neville, and during the reign of Edward IV.§

Before the Reformation the Church of Scotland was, like England, subject to the Pope, but it had its own Church also. The people were subject to the despotic rule of their kings and a debasing superstition.

In January, 1450, a Bull was issued by Pope Nicholas the Fifth for the erection of a university in Glasgow. The papal Bull was solemnly read at the market cross, and a plenary indulgence was promised

* See Appendix (p. 436).

† This may remind our readers of the Jewish custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover.

‡ By letters patent of 1512, Louis XII. confirmed this custom, under the name of “La Fierté,” and it continued in use, till the year 1789, when the National Assembly abolished all the peculiar privileges of cities and provinces.

§ Allen’s Antiquities of York.

to all who should visit the Cathedral during the current year. This university, although obscure at first, in time shone with a degree of splendour. In 1453, it had the royal protection from James the Second, who was an energetic monarch, and framed good laws.*

The Pope sent as his legate, Patrick Grahame, who met with the opposition of the ruling party, the Boyds, to his election to the See of St. Andrew's, and he went to Rome, to establish his claim through the papal influence, which afforded an opportunity to the Archbishop of York (Neville) to attempt to recover the spiritual supremacy of Scotland. In this attempt the Archbishop failed, and the result was that Sixtus IV. granted a Bull creating Grahame Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland. The Pope also appointed him his legate, to add grace to the first Archbishop of Scotland, and he gave him full power to reform all abuses in the Church, and correct the dissoluteness of the clergy. From this time the spiritual independence of Scotland was secured.

Grahame expected to be received on his return with triumph, but his enemies still prevailed, and they appealed to the Pope, offering to prove the invalidity of his documents, and finally the King ordered him to retire to his bishopric, and refrain from wearing the archiepiscopal pall till the cause was determined.

The two kings, James I. and James II., prohibited the clergy from purchasing benefices of the court of Rome, but it was reserved for James III. to divert the stream of wealth which had hitherto flowed into the Pope's treasury, that it might be poured into his own.

Amongst the privileges conferred by papal power on certain of the monasteries, was that of the *Sanctuary*, which had often a pernicious tendency, for although the unfortunate obtained protection within their walls,

* Cunningham's Hist. of Scotland.

many delinquents fled thither, after the commission of crimes, to seek concealment in the precincts of those abbeys. Here they found personal shelter from the Church, and were enabled, during forty days, to defy the laws. The arm of justice could not reach them, since the magistrates dared not drag a culprit from his place of refuge, without incurring the resentment of the Church, and the severest penalties of the law.*

In the absence of the light of truth and Divine guidance, many were the superstitions of the Middle Ages. Amid the darkness that prevailed, how great was the need of a faithful guide in spiritual, as well as in temporal affairs.

Popes had, by despotic rule and cruel bigotry, given mortal offence in this, and other lands, while many of the clergy, by their unworthy deeds, had dishonoured their high and holy calling. In the State the usurpation of undue authority by those of noble birth, failed to secure the ready obedience which springs only from respect and love, and thus, disorder and anarchy ensued throughout the land.

Yet even at this dark epoch an earnest desire arose from many hearts that a ruler, wise and good, might be found to quell the party spirit of contention, and to restore harmony and peace. Not, however, in the reign of the meek Henry was this to occur, but at a later period, when the precepts of Holy Writ had become disseminated through the land, was the blessing of peace again bestowed.

How marvellously is the welfare of nations ordered by Him, who has His witnesses in every age, and who is bringing them by the rays of His righteousness to

* The dissolution of monasteries, as at the Reformation, had a precedent in the times of Henry the Sixth, when many of the religious houses were suppressed, and others converted to the foundations of colleges, by Archbishop Chicheley and others.

the light of that Perfect Day, when His will shall be “done on earth, as it is in heaven,” and His Kingdom shall be made manifest.

To return to the stirring events of the fifteenth century, when the social, as well as religious aspect was so stormy and disturbed.

The political changes in England, and other countries throughout Europe, may be said to have commenced when the feudal system terminated. Kings and rulers had, in those preceding times, been much constrained in action and authority, by the petty sovereigns of principalities and fiefs, who only nominally deferred to the crown; while as kings and independent rulers, they warred with each other for their own rights and territories. One might say, that feudality was absorbed by monarchy, for it became the wisdom of kings, to bring about the unity of states, upon which to establish political order, and social arrangements. This was ultimately effected, but not until the close of the fifteenth century.

“To speak of the politics of a kingdom, means its “every-day life, its institutions, laws of general interest, and relation of one country to others, and the “relations of the people to their government, and their “government to foreign states; these being explained, “constitute its political history.”* These subjects were enveloped in darkness and ignorance compared with later times; but, it is remarkable, that it was at this epoch, the fifteenth century, that the politics, as well as the literature and religion of this country, were undergoing a decided and beneficial change. It is besides worthy of especial observation, that then, as now, we surpassed generally as a nation all the other states of Europe in our constitution, government, and

* Van Praet's Essay on Political History.

laws. Sir John Fortescue and Philip de Comines have equally borne testimony to this fact.*

We can gather from history but little concerning the constitutional prerogative of our kings at this period, yet we have contemporary authorities to show that, while France and other states were under the absolute dominion of one individual, England was possessed of a limited monarchy.

It is certain that the King was so far prescribed, that without the consenting voice of Parliament he could neither make, nor alter, any of the laws of the land.

Next to the King, the Lords and Commons each possessed a certain degree of influence in the affairs of the nation, but the powers enjoyed by each separately were ill defined. Thus, if the modified prerogative vested in the kings of this age formed not, in connection with the other parts of the constitution, so just a balance of power as in later times, we must bear in mind the persons by whom it was wielded, the circumstances in which the nation was placed, the absence of a public press, and of all those controlling media of civilisation which were then only beginning to dawn upon the world. It is asserted, that the King on several occasions, violated the constitution by assuming a power of dispensing, as it is termed, with the laws, and granting permission to individuals and bodies of men to break them with impunity. It was thus, that to secure the clergy in his interest, we find King Edward IV., in 1462, by a most extravagant use of this dispensing power, granted them permission to violate every law of the land, sacerdotal and judicial.

The violent factions and cruel wars were the great obstacles to impartial justice. The people of England were often placed under a kind of military government,

* Sir John Fortescue, Philip de Comines.

the High Constable having the power to put to death even the highest in the land, without the forms of law, provided he was himself convinced of their guilt; nay more, there was not even an inquiry after evidence. When the Constable required a show of proof, and could not procure it by other means, he had recourse to the rack.*

The death of the Earl of Oxford in the first year of the reign of the triumphant Edward IV., is an instance sufficiently striking of the exercise of this power.

Party animosity had no doubt sealed the fate of this aged veteran, although the charge against him was his correspondence with Queen Margaret; for in these times it was perilous to use great boldness of speech, and the force of the Earl's arguments in Parliament, on the disputed question of the precedency of the Barons Temporal and Spiritual, had obtained the judgment in favour of the former.

During the Lancastrian dynasty the authority of Parliament was more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more attended to, than during former times. On the death of Henry V. the prospect of a long minority, encouraged both the Lords and Commons to extend their power; and, disregarding the injunctions of the late monarch, they made a new arrangement for the administration, putting aside the name of Regent, and adopting that of Protector, for the Duke of Bedford, and for Gloucester in the absence of his elder brother. The regal power thus divided, was further restrained by a Council, whose advice was required on every measure of importance.†

The large amount of debt contracted during the wars of Henry V. in France, was left to his successor to discharge, and the ministers found themselves obliged

* Henry.

† Hume; Rymer; *The Citizens and their Rulers*, by B. B. Orridge.

to recur to old abuses, and amongst these to the arbitrary practice of purveyance, and by these means the affections of the people were greatly estranged from their sovereign.* In 1433, the amount of debt was announced to be £35,000 annually; and as it increased, it involved the State in more embarrassment and caused more popular dissatisfaction.

During the short but brilliant reign of Henry V. the Parliament was remarkably quiet; not a breath was raised by them against the dispositions of his household affairs, although his expenses were ruinous. We are told that "there was less injustice committed by "the governments of Henry V. and Henry VI. than "at any former period." The extravagant expenditure of his father, however, and the wastefulness with which the Regency is justly charged, had entailed an enormous amount of debt upon his son Henry VI., which was one great cause of disaffection throughout his reign. Henry IV., in his address to his son upon his death-bed, said to him, "Of Englishmen, so long "as they have wealth and riches, so long shalt thou "have obeysance; but when they be poor, they are "always ready to make insurrection at every motion."† Thus it was, that during the reign of Margaret of Anjou the most trivial causes gave rise to the most serious disaffection and mutiny. After the losses in France, the misappropriation of public moneys and gifts gave occasion for much complaint.

There was indeed a great predisposition throughout the kingdom for the discord and anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Henry VI., which was evidenced, not only by the dispositions of the nobility, in many circumstances of the times, but even may be

* The Citizens and their Rulers, by Orridge.

† Leigh's Choice Observations of the Kings of England; Hallam's Middle Ages.

deduced from the statutes then enacted. It was in 1429 that the state of the country called for the forty-shilling franchise, which was then first constituted, exactly as it at present exists.

The first statute which fixed the value of the freehold franchise was in the eighth year of the reign of Henry VI., and the preamble runs thus:—

“Whereas the elections of knights of the shire to
“come to Parliament in many counties of the realm
“have now been of late years made by very great
“outrages, and excessive numbers of people, dwelling
“within the same counties of the realm of England, of
“which most part was of people of small substance
“and of no value, whereof every one of them pretended
“a voice, equivalent as to such elections to be made
“with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling
“within the same counties, whereby manslaughter,
“riots, robberies, and divisions among the gentlemen
“and other people of the same counties, shall very
“likely arise and be, unless convenient and due remedy
“be provided in this behalf.” *

The limitations of government were strenuously enforced by Sir John Fortescue in his instructions to his pupil, the King's son; he speaks “of the limited
“nature of the monarch's authority, and the inalien-
“able rights of the subjects, while he calls on Prince
“Edward to reverence the free institutions of his native
“land. Nowhere else did the people possess by law
“and upon the whole, in effect, so much security for their
“personal freedom and property. The middling ranks
“flourished remarkably, not only in commercial towns,
“but among the cultivators of the soil. There is scarce
“a small village, says Sir John Fortescue, in which
“you may not find a knight, an esquire, or some sub-

* Hume; Speech of Mr. Peel, March 6th, 1829.

“stantial householder, commonly called a franklayn,*
 “possessed of considerable estate, besides others called
 “freeholders, and many yemen of estates, sufficient
 “to make a substantial jury.” †

Cases of arbitrary imprisonment frequently occurred in these times, and were remonstrated against by the Commons.

No privilege of the Commons can be so fundamental as the liberty of speech. A complaint was made in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VI. by Thomas Young, member for Bristol, of his imprisonment in the Tower of London, six years previously, in consequence of a motion which he made, to the effect that the King, then having no issue, the Duke of York might be declared heir apparent to the crown. In the session when Young claimed remuneration the Duke was Protector, and likely to regard his complaint.‡

The ministers of the King were expected to maintain themselves, but if they required remuneration, it was obtained through the appointments of the church, which were at the King's disposal.

King Henry had the appointment of sheriffs, but they often failed to execute the duties of their office, unless guaranteed against loss. Besides these, there were bannerets, who ranked below barons, and sat with the peers. The barons were styled *Le Sieur de*, while bannerets merely had *Monsieur* prefixed to their names. Peers were created by the King, but with the consent of Parliament.

We have now to speak of the Privy Council and the

* By a franklayn we are to understand what we call a country squire, like the “frankleyn” of Chaucer. The heads of families were esquires, shield-bearers to the knights, and the younger ones were styled gentlemen: both were military dignities, and the lowest titles borne in England.

† Hallam; Lower's Heraldry.

‡ Hallam's Mid. Ages; W. of Worcester.

courts of law and police. The three great tribunals of common law were, the King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Exchequer. The number of judges who sat in the Courts of Westminster, were in the time of Henry VI. from five to eight. Their salaries were small, viz., the chief justice of the King's Bench £1,600 per annum of our money, the chief justice of the Common Pleas £1,300, and each of the others £1,000. Besides these salaries, they received their robes and dresses from the royal wardrobe, or £85 in money, as an equivalent. They also acted as justices of assize, and received £200 extra for that office. The whole income which the Attorney-General received from the State was under £120. From Fortescue we learn, that the entire fees, in the year 1421, of the Treasurer of England, keeper of the Privy Seal, judges of both benches, barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of the courts was not more than £30,000.

The small income and precarious position of the judges, was, indeed, one of several causes of the venal and irregular application of justice at this period. Another cause was the banding together of hordes of men for right, or wrong, ever ready for mutiny. Again, the shelter which the sanctuaries gave to crime, and the difficulty of rendering the members of the clergy amenable to the lay courts. These courts were fast asserting, their supremacy over the ecclesiastical courts, for the administration of common law ; but the struggle continued during the whole of this epoch.

In tracing the political events of one nation, we find that like the sister arts, or sciences, the subject cannot well be pursued alone ; being so intimately connected with others, that the mind is insensibly led away from the more circumscribed view ; and, like the philosopher, who is tempted on from one science to another, the historian, whose peculiar study is mankind, cannot

fail, in the midst of his survey of party strife and warfare in England, to be led to the contemplation of the condition of the surrounding nations during this eventful period, the fifteenth century. A striking similarity immediately appears, between the history of the French nation and of our own.

First, let us instance the death-bed, and dying injunctions, of Charles V. of France, and then, on looking to the conclusion of the brilliant career of our monarch, Henry V., the same scene occurs. Both these sovereigns were distinguished for their wisdom and skill; and their foresight alike directed them, to provide for the future welfare of their sons, while in their minority, and exposed to the domineering and violent character of their powerful relatives.

These princes of turbulent memory soon aroused, in their respective countries, the spirit of discontent and rebellion, and each one seeking to be greatest, quickly forgot his allegiance, his duty, and his promises to his King. How soon were the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans in arms against each other, and alternately disturbing the peace of France with anarchy and bloodshed, until they both came to an untimely end! The murders of these two princes were committed openly, and one of them was even publicly justified; similar transactions followed in England, but here these crimes were planned, and executed in secret.

The results, however, were not less disastrous; one crime brought on another, and the death of Gloucester was succeeded by the hurried execution of Suffolk; even the mock trial employed upon this occasion, was soon after dispensed with, and the summary vengeance of party hurried its victims, without preparation or trial, into another world. Then came battle after battle in either land, and fiercely strove brother against brother, and kinsfolk against kinsfolk.

Such were the events produced by these two minorities! and if we review the third, and sister kingdom, we shall not find the people were more fortunate. In France, Charles VI. ascended the throne when he had only attained his ninth year; in England, Henry VI. was but an infant of nine months old at his accession; and in Scotland, in 1460, James III. assumed the crown at eight years of age. His predecessor was, with the other monarchs, alike distinguished for wisdom and foresight; and Pinkerton says, that "such laws as those passed by James II. shine like a "coruscation amid the night of barbarism."

The rebellion of York in England fostered that of Douglas in Scotland, and we see the boy-monarch vainly striving, with the aid of France, to maintain the interests of the Lancastrians; until, the intestine divisions and turmoils of his own kingdom engrossed his whole care and attention.

There is much room for reflection on the histories of these several countries, which seem at this period to illustrate one another, or afford a lively contrast.

Chicheley, the Archbishop, early followed the example of William of Wykeham in "diverting a portion of the "conventual revenues to the establishment of schools "and colleges, under the direction of the secular "clergy." Previously, schools had been attached to monasteries, and these becoming in time less useful, the greater ones absorbed the smaller, by the purchase of their property.

Thus it was that William of Wykeham and Chicheley found themselves able to endow their schools with lands which they purchased. Henry VI., in his foundation, of Eton, and of King's College, closely followed the system of education said to have been invented by the genius of William of Wykeham, who has been styled one of the master-spirits of his times.

Thus commenced the system of public schools, which, for so many years, has been instrumental in the formation of the character of the English gentleman.

At an early period the attention of government was directed towards education. It was considered to be, as much a branch of the prerogative, to prevent persons who were ill qualified, from exercising the profession of schoolmaster, as it was to put down a conspiracy.

The reformation of the grammar-schools in London arose, it is said, from many ignorant persons having presumed to teach grammar, "to the injury both of "their scholars and their friends;" and the number of the schools was limited to five, that being deemed fully sufficient for the metropolis.

This arrangement originated with John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert Gilbert, Bishop of London; and doubtless they had worthy motives, when we consider the piety, and love of learning, of their sovereign. King Henry directed the establishment of grammar-schools; for at this period the grossest ignorance prevailed, so that the ancient schools were quite neglected, and left "to decay; "wherefore for the restoration of learning, four clergy- "men, viz. Maistre William Lyechefeld, parson of "the parish Chirche of All Hallowen the More, in "London, Maistre Gilbert, parson of Saint Andrewe, "Holbourne, in the suburbs of the said Citee; Maistre "John Cotes, parson of Saint Petre, in Cornhull, of "London; and John Neel, maistre of the Hous, or "Hospital of Saint Thomas of Acres and parson of "Colchirche, in London.

"By these four clergymen the Parliament was "petitioned, in the 25th year of the reign of Henry VI. "that they and their successors might be allowed to "set up schools in their respective churches and ap- "point masters in them; which petition was granted."

King Henry not only appointed these four grammar-schools, viz., St. Andrew's, Holborn; Allhallows the Great, in Thames Street; St. Peter's, Cornhill; and in the Hospital, St. Thomas of Acons, in West Cheap; but schools were established likewise as follows:—St. Paul's, at St. Martin's-le-Grand; St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheap; St. Dunstan in the West, and St. Anthony; also Sion College, over against London Wall, near Cripplegate, and adjoining to St. Alphage church.*

In the eighth year of Henry VI. this monarch granted a license for rebuilding the chapel, or college, as it was then called; and in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, he empowered the parish clerks of London to have a *guild* dedicated to St. Nicholas, with two chaplains to the chapel.

There were ten Inns of Chancery in the time of Henry the Sixth:† —Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, New Inn, Streined, or Chester Inn, George's Inn, Thavies Inn, Furnival's Inn, Staple Inn, Barnard's Inn, Sergeants' and Scrope's Inn.‡

Of *historians* in the reign of Henry VI.: amongst these was John Skewish, a native of Cornwall, who compiled an abridgment of the chronicles and of the wars of Troy.§

Harding, another historian of those times, was likewise the first poet-laureate. He held this appointment to Edward IV.

Amongst the poets of this period we may especially mention James I., King of Scotland; Lydgate, a monk of Bury, whose pieces amounted to 251 in number; also Hugh Campden and Thomas Chester.

At the latter end of King Henry the Sixth's reign they began to paint in oil. Four curious specimens

* Bentley's *Excerpta*; Stow's *Survey*; Mackay's *London*.

† *Londiniana*.

‡ *Ibid*.

§ Lyson's *Magna Britannia*.

were painted on panels which composed a door of some cabinet, or shrine, belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans; thereon are represented the portraits of Cardinal Beaufort and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. These valuable curiosities are in the possession of John Ives, Esq., of Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

Engravings in wood and copper first appeared about the year 1460. These may be seen in the remaining old prints of Andrew Muntague, Martin Schoon, and Albert Durer. The woodcuts were chiefly designed, and made as ornaments to the old printed books.

The art of printing was first invented in the city of Metz, in Germany.* Another account is, that printing was found out at Mayence, in Germany, by a knight called John Gутtenbergen, and brought into England by William Caxton, of London, mercer, who first practised the same, in the Abbey at Westminster, in the year, 1471.†

The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed at Nuremberg in 1493, is enriched with a variety of excellent woodcuts, every page almost in that work representing the costumes then used in Germany.‡

Heraldry was taught orally, in the earliest ages, to novitiate heralds; but, when the rules of chivalry were gathered into a code, they were committed to writing. The first author of any note on this subject was Doctor Nicholas Upton, a native of Devonshire, who was patronised by the "good Duke Humphrey, "of Gloucester," during the reign of Henry IV., through whose favour he became Canon of Sarum, Wells, and St. Paul's. He had previously served in the French wars under the Earl of Salisbury; and

* Holinshed; Strutt's Manners and Customs.

† Baker.

‡ Strutt's Manners and Customs.

during these campaigns he composed a Latin treatise, called "*De Studio Militari*."* It was a systematic grammar of heraldry, in very classical diction for that period.†

One of the earliest productions of the printing-press in England, was the celebrated "*Boke of St. Albans*." It was printed in 1486, within the precincts of that monastery, from which it took its name. This rare work contains traets on hawking, hunting, and "*coot-armuris*," the last being the main subject of the volume. This work was attributed, for the first three centuries after it appeared, to Dame Julian Berners, a woman of singular personal as well as mental endowments. She was a great promoter of English literature; and, although doubts have been thrown on the authorship of this noble work, the "*Boke of St. Albans*" may fairly be attributed to this lady's pen.‡

In the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses much treasure was hidden and buried underground. A discovery of this kind was made, in April, 1861, by an inhabitant of the High Street, at Hounslow, when enlarging a cellar: embedded in the loam just below the old foundation on which his house stands, an earthen vase, or cup, was found, containing 800 silver and a few copper coins; silver groats of Henry VI., struck at Norwich, York, Bristol, and London; also others of Edward IV., Richard III., and Burgundian pieces of silver, of Charles "*the Bold*," the brother-in-law of Edward IV. The dates of these coins ranged from 1406 to 1485. It is possible that the owner of the treasure might have fallen at Bosworth.

* This work is still to be seen in manuscript in the College of Arms and elsewhere.

† Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*.

‡ *Ibid.*

The franc, a very ancient coin in France, was struck by King Henry VI., as king of that country.*

(Salute d'or.) The salute was a gold coin of Henry VI., current in France for £1 5s. English.†

There is an instance in the armorial bearings of Margaret of Anjou, of what is called vicious or false heraldry. It is a fundamental rule in heraldry that metal shall not be put upon metal, nor colour upon colour; but in the third quartering of her arms, which contains those of Jerusalem (her father René being titular king of Jerusalem), the golden crosses are on a silver ground. The old heralds being too scientific to have overlooked so great a departure from an important rule, it has been ascertained, that, holding Jerusalem in the highest estimation, as the very queen of cities, they judged it unworthy to submit her to those rules, to which the kings and princes of the earth were subject. They therefore created, as it were, the special exception in her favour, to distinguish her heraldically from all the cities of the world.

A coin of Edward IV., called a noble, made of silver and gold, value 10s., and 8*d.* of allay weighing, was stamped with a *rose*.‡

At the time of the marriage of King Edward IV. a proclamation was made at Reading, and throughout England, that the noble of Henry VI. should value 8s. 4*d.*, and a new coinage was made at the Tower of London, to the great loss of the lords.

In 1462 the gold coins were further reduced, 45 *nobles* being made to the pound, and passing at 10s., and *angels* at 6s. 8*d.* The new nobles were termed *royals*—a new name given by the French to their gold coins, impressed with the figure of the sovereign in his royal robes.

* Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou.

† Paston Letters.

‡ Stow.

It has been supposed by some antiquarians that, during the civil wars of York and Lancaster, there were no fixed places of mintage, and that the dies were conveyed from one place to another, according as necessity required. This idea arose from some of the coins of Edward IV. being found with initial letters on the breast of the bust. Thus a groat of the mint of Coventry has a B on the breast, which has been supposed to signify that the piece was struck at Bristol.

The beautiful ornamented churches were by Wickliff, in his earnest enthusiasm, condemned, as savouring of hypocrisy, and therefore injurious. This aimed at the very origin and foundation of the lodges, and caused much persecution to arise against the societies of masons.

It appears that Henry VI. was their great patron, and protected them; he even joined their society, and in his will bequeathed to his college in Cambridge, the sum annually of £117 6s. 10*d.* for wages, of the officers of the works then in operation. This was no small sum in those days

According to Bede, masons and workers in stone were brought into England by Bennet, Abbot of Wirral.

The Free Masons' Company had their arms granted to them by William Huckleslow, Clarencieux King-at-Arms; and a company of under-masons were established in London two years before, in the thirteenth year of Edward IV. "The antiquary, John Leland, has preserved in his collections in the Bodleian Library "certayne questyons with answeres to the same, concerninge the mystery of masonrye, written by the "hand of Kynge Henrye the Sixthe." *

Henry VI. is said to have endeavoured to recruit his empty coffers by alchemy. The record which

* Archaeologia.

contains this remarkable proposition, sets forth in "a grave and solemn manner, the feasibility and virtues of the philosopher's stone, encouraging its search, and dispensing with all the statutes and prohibitions to the contrary." When this patent was published, many promised to answer the expectations of the King so effectually, that the following year he published another patent, wherein he informs his subjects that the "happy hour" was drawing nigh, and by means of the stone, which he should soon be master of, he would pay all the debts of the nation in real gold and silver. The persons chosen for his operators in this new pursuit were appointed by King Henry on the 9th of March, in the year 1455 (or the thirty-fifth of his reign). These were Henry Sharp, doctor of laws, who, with three other persons, were to pursue the study of alchemy for the emolument of their royal master. There were others who laboured to the same purpose, viz., Thomas Harvey, an Austin friar; Robert Glapeley, a preaching friar; and William Atclyffe, the Queen's physician.*

Private duelling was at the period (1461) unknown. It became necessary, before a combat, to obtain the King's license; this being granted, the combat proceeded in public, and, in affairs of treason, the conquered party was instantly executed.†

Several of these deeds of arms are related by the chroniclers. One John Asteley, squire, a noted warrior, held a combat with Piers de Masse, a Frenchman, in Paris, before King Charles, in 1438. Again, John Asteley was challenged by Philip Boyle, knight, an Aragonese. This combat took place on the 30th of January, 1442, in the presence of the King, Henry VI., within Smithfield.

* Wilson's Hist. of St. Lawrence Poulteney; Curiosities of Literature.

† Paston Letters.

In 1446 two other combats were appointed. The first was by the prior of Kilmanin and the Earl of Ormond, the former having impeached the earl of high treason; but the quarrel was decided by the King, who prevented the fighting. The second impeachment was by John David, an armourer, against his master, William Catur, for treason; but the latter, being intoxicated, was unhappily slain previous to the combat, without just proof of his guilt, and the servant was hanged at the next assize for felony.*

Artillery was seldom made use of in the civil wars in England, and in the field partially only; it had but little, or no effect on the issue of the battle, excepting only at the engagement at Tewkesbury, in 1471.

“The cavalry and infantry were arranged in the old system. The lance was the weapon of those of gentle birth, while the bow and the bill were used by people of inferior state. The archers formed the main strength of the battle.”†

The method adopted for raising an army was by sending letters under the Privy Seal, sometimes signed by the King himself, commanding the attendance of such persons as were named, the time and place of resorting being mentioned, and that they should bring with them men, &c., according to their rank.

Thus, in the month of April, in 1459, these Privy Seals were issued at the time when the King was at Coventry, raising an army to oppose the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury.‡

* Brown's Abstract of Hist. of Eng.

† Philip de Comines.

‡ Paston Letters.



APPENDIX

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

A MANUSCRIPT, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, has also a few interesting political songs, commencing with the date of the public reconciliation previously described. The earliest, written in the year 1458, is the work of a Lancastrian. "Henry VI. is represented under the form of a ship, with the young Prince Edward for a mast. The ship's light was a blazing cresset, representing the Duke of Exeter; and its strong stern was the Duke of Somerset. The sail-yard was the Earl of Pembroke, the stay the Duke of Buckingham, and the shrouds consisted of the Lords Devonshire, Grey, Beauchamp of Powik, and Scales. The Earl of Northumberland, with Ros, Clifford, and Egremont, formed the sail; the Earl of Shrewsbury was the topmast; and the ship had three good anchors, the Lords Beaumont, Welles, and Rivers. St. George is appealed to for protection for this stately ship."¹

"Stere welle the good shype, God be ouer guide.

"Ouer shyp is launched from the grounde,

"Blessed be God, both faire and sounde,

"Ouer maryners hau the shypmen founde,

"By here taklynge wille abyde.

"This noble shyp made of good tree,

"Ouer souerayne lord Kynge Henry;

"God gyde hym from adversyte,

"Wherever he go or ryde.

"The shyp was charged wt a mast,

"Crased it was, it myght not last;²

"Now hathe he one bt wol not brest,

"The old is leyde on syde,

"Thys fayre mast, this myghty yearl,

"Of whom fals shrewes be afered,

"Hys name of ryght is Prince Edward,³

"Long myght he wt us abyde!

¹ Wright's Political Songs.

² This may refer to the administration under Suffolk, which was dissolved in 1450.

³ Edward, only son of Henry VI.

" The shyp hathe closed hym a lyght,
 " To kepe her course in way of ryght,
 " A fyre cressant,¹ it bernethe bryght,
 " Nt fawte was neuer spyed,
 " Thys good lyght, it is so clere,
 " Calle y the Duke of Exceter,
 " Whose name yn trouve shyned clere,
 " Hys worshyp spryngethe wyde.

" Thys shyp hathe a sterne fulle good
 " Hem to gyde in ebbe and flood,
 " Ayeine her was both wild and wode,
 " That rynnethe on enery syde :
 " The sterne that on the shype is sette
 " Ys the Duke Somerset,²
 " For ragged rokkes he wolle not lette
 " To sterre in ebe and eke in tyde.

" There is a sayle-yearde fulle good and sure,
 " To the shyp a grete tresour,
 " For alle stormes it wolle endure,
 " It is trusty atte nede ;
 " Now the sayle-yearde I wolle reherse
 " The Erle of Penbroke,³ curtys and ferece
 " Acros the mast he hathe travers
 " The good shyp for to lede.

" The mast hathe a welle good stay,
 " With shrowthes sure, I dare well say,
 " In humble wyse hym to obey,
 " Yf he to hem hathe nede ;
 " The Duke of Bokyngham⁴ thys stay is he
 " Thys shrowdes be sure in thare degre,
 " Devenshyre,⁵ and Grey⁶ and Becheham⁷ the free,
 " And Scales,⁸ with them in tyde.

" The shyp hath a welle good sayle
 " Of fine canvas, it wolle not fayle,
 " With bonet III⁹ for to travayle
 " That mekelle beth of pryde ;

¹ The Duke of Exeter's badge.

² Henry Beaufort, son of the Duke who fell at St. Alban's, beheaded in 1464.

³ Jasper Tudor, half brother of Henry VI.

⁴ Humphrey Stafford, killed at the battle of Northampton.

⁵ Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, beheaded by the Yorkists in 1461.

⁶ Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn.

⁷ John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyk.

⁸ Thomas, Lord Scales, killed by Yorkists in 1460.

⁹ A bonnet, in nautical language, is an addition made to the sails.

" This good sayle, I understand
 " The Erle of Northumberland,¹
 " Ros,² Clyfford,³ and Egremont⁴
 " The trouth is not to hyde.

 " Ther is a toppe, the mast on hyght,
 " The shyp to defende, in alle hys ryght
 " With his foomen when he schalle fyght
 " They dare hym not abyde ;
 " The Erle of Schrouesbury⁵ the toppes name
 " He kepethe the shype from harne and blame,
 " The Erle of Wylchyre⁶ one of the same
 " That kepethe the shyp from drede.

 " Thys good shype hathe ankers thre
 " Of bether mettel ther may non be,
 " To strenthe the shyp be londe and se,
 " When he wolle stop hys tyde ;
 " The furst anker, hole and sounde,
 " He is named the Lord Beaumont,⁷
 " Wellys⁸ and Ryveres,⁹ truth yn them found,
 " In worshyp they hem gyde.

 " Now help Saynte George, oure Ladye knyght,
 " And be our lode-starre day and nyght
 " To strengthe our Kynge, and England ryght,
 " And felle oure fomenous pryde.
 " Now is oure shyp dressed in hys kynde
 " With hys taklynge befor and behynde :
 " Whoso love it not, God make hym blynde
 " In peynes to abyde." ¹⁰

ON THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON.

10 JULY, 1460.

" Of alle mennys disposicion naturalle
 " Philisophys wryten in every place,
 " That after the bodyes celestiale,
 " The erthely body his wirkyng hase ;

¹ Henry Percy, slain at the battle of Towton, 1461.² Thomas de Roos, Baron Roos of Hamlake, attainted in 1461.³ John, Lord Clifford.⁴ Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, killed at Northampton in 1460.⁵ John Talbot, killed at Northampton in 1460.⁶ James Butler, beheaded in 1461.⁷ John, Viscount Beaumont, killed at Northampton in 1460.⁸ Leo, Lord Welles, slain at Towton, in 1461.⁹ Richard Widville, Lord Rivers, beheaded by the peasantry, in 1469.¹⁰ *Archæologia Lond.*

“ Some tyme disposid it is to solace,
 “ Som tyme by enspecialle grace
 “ Sorow is turned into gladnesse.

“ And ensaumple here of I take witnesse
 “ Of certayne persones that late exiled were,
 “ Whos sorow is turned into joyfulnessse,
 “ The Rose,¹ the Fetyrlok,² the Egle,³ and the Bere.⁴
 “ Grete games in Ingland sum tym ther were
 “ In hauking, huntynge, and fisshing, in every place
 “ Among lordes with shelde and spere,
 “ Prosperite in reme than reigntyng wase.

“ Where of God, of his specialle grace
 “ Heryng the peple crying for mercye,
 “ Considering the falsehode in every place,
 “ Gave infleweuz of myrthe into bodyes on hye,
 “ The whiche in a Berward⁵ lighted prevelye,
 “ Edward, yong of age, disposed in solace
 “ In hauking and huntynge to begyne meryly
 “ To Northampton with the Bere he toke his trace.

* * * * *

“ Blessed be God in Trinite,
 “ Fadir, and Son, and Holy Ghost,
 “ Whiche kepithe his servauntes in adversite,
 “ And wold not suffre thyme to be loste ;
 “ As Thou art Lord of mightes moste,
 “ Save the Kyng and his ryalte,
 “ And illumyn him with the Holy Goste,
 “ His reme to set in perfect charite.”

Amen.

EPITAPH FOR RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.

“ A remembrer à tous ceurs de noblesse
 “ Que ycy gist la fleur de gentillesse,
 “ Le puissant duc d'York, Rychart ot nom,
 “ Prince royal, preudomme de renom,
 “ Saige, vaillant, vertueux en sa vie,
 “ Qui bien amà loyaulté sans envie,
 “ Droyt heritier, prouvé en mainte terre,
 “ Des couronnez de France et d'Engleterre.
 “ Ou parlement tenu à Vestmestre,¹
 “ Bien fut congneu et trouvé vray heir estre.
 “ Sy fut roygent et gouverneur de France,
 “ Normandie il garda d'encombrance,

¹ Edward, Earl of March.

² Richard, Duke of York.

³ Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. ⁴ Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

⁵ Edward, Earl of March, so called from having the Earl of Warwick as his associate.

" Sur Pontaysse la ryvière passa,
 " Le roy Francoyez et son doullin chassa.
 " En Erllande mist tel gouvernement,
 " Tout le pais rygla paisiblement,
 " D'Engleterre fut long temps prottetur,
 " Le peuple ama, et fut leur deffendeur.
 " Noble lygne et d'enfans, que Dieu garde,
 " Dont l'aysné fylz est nomé Edouarde,
 " Qui est vray roy, et son droit conquessta,
 " Par grant labeur qu'il en prinst l'aqueta,
 " Il est regnant solitaire ou jour d'uy,
 " Dieu et ses sains sy le gardent d'enuy !
 " Ce noble duc à Wacquefylde mourut,
 " Doux paix traitant force sur luy courut,
 " L'an soixnte, le xxxe de Decembre,
 " Cinquante ans ot d'age, come on remembre,
 " En priant Dieu et la tres belledame
 " Qu'en Paradiz puist reposer son ame !
 " Amen.

" CHESTER LE HT."

(*Translation.*)

Let it be remembered by all noble hearts, that here lies the flower of gentility—the powerful Duke of York, Richard was his name,—a royal prince, a gentleman of renown,—wise, valiant, virtuous in his life,—who loved well loyally without envy—the right heir, proved in many a land,—of the crowns of France and England. In the parliament held at Westminster—he was fully acknowledged, and found to be the right heir. And he was regent and governor of France. Normandy he guarded from danger :—he passed the river at Pontoise,—and drove away the French king and his dauphin. In Ireland he established such government,—that he ruled all the country peaceably. Of England he was long protector,—he loved the people, and was their defender. He had a noble lineage of children, whom may God have in his keeping. The eldest of whom is named Edward,—who is true King, and conquered his right,—he purchased it by great labour, which he bestowed upon it,—he is reigning singly at the present day. God and the saints preserve him from injury :—This noble Duke died at Wakefield,—while treating of sweet peace, force rushed upon him,—the year sixty, the thirtieth of December,—He was fifty years of age, as people remember. Praying God, and the very fair lady—that his soul may repose in Paradise ! Amen. Chester the Her ald.¹

A POLITICAL RETROSPECT.²

" To have in mynde callyng to remembraunce,
 " The gret wrongys doon of oold antiquité,
 " Unrightful heyres by wrong alyaunce
 " Usurpyng this royaume caused gret adversité ;

¹ Wright's Political Poems and Songs, vol. ii. p. 256.

² This poem, which appears to have been composed in 1462 or 1463, is preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 101, fol. 98 ro.

" Kyng Richard the secounde, highe of dignytee,
 " Whiche of Ingeland was rightful enheritoure,
 " In whos tyme ther was labundaunce with plentee
 " Of welthe and erthely joye, withoute langoure.

" Then cam Henry of Derby, by force and myght,
 " And undir the colour of fals perjury
 " He toke this rightwys kyng, Goddes trew knyght,
 " And hym in prison put perpetuelly,
 " Pyned to dethe, alas ! ful pyteously ;
 " Holy bisshop Scrope, the blyssed confessor,
 " In that quarel toke hys dethe ful paciently,
 " That alle the world spak of that gret langoure.

" Whos dethe ys a very trew evidence
 " To alle Ingeland for the just title and lyne,
 " Whiche for the trowthe by tyranny and violence
 " Was put doune and suspect holde venyrsyne ;
 " Many a trew lord then put to mortal fyne ;
 " Alway they have ben aboute with rigoure
 " The lynaige of Kyng Richard to undirmayne,
 " That longe have lyved in gret langoure.

" God smote the said Henry for hys gret fersnesse,
 " With a lepre holdyng hym to hys ende fynally.
 " Next hym Henry the fyfte, of knyghtly prowesse,
 " Named the best of that lyne and progeny,
 " How be it he regned unrightfully,
 " So he upheld in Ingeland the honnour ;
 " Henry hys sone of Wy[n]desore, by gret foly,
 " Alle hathe retourned unto huge langoure,

" Callyng to mynde the fals engendred tresen
 " And myschefz that were in hys dayes regnyng ;
 " The good due of Gloucestre, in the season
 " Of the parlement at Bury beyng,
 " Was put to dethe ; and ay sithe gret mornyng
 " Hathe ben in Ingeland, with many a scharp schoure,
 " Falshode, myschyeve, secret synne upholyng,
 " Whiche hathe caused in Engeland endelez langoure.

" Noo mervail through Engeland hathe ben unhappy,
 " Whiche hathe be mysrewled so verys sertayne ;
 " Scripture saith heritage holdyn wrongfully
 " Schal never cheve ne with the thred heyre remayne,
 " As hathe be verified late ful playne,
 " Where as iij kynges have regned by erreure,
 " The thred put oute, and the right brought agayne,
 " Whos absence hathe caused endlez langoure.

- " Also Scripture saithe, woo be to that regyon
 " Where ys a kyng unwyse or innocent ;
 " Moreovyr it ys right a gret abusion,
 " A womman of a land to be a regent,
 " Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hathe ment
 " To governe alle Engeland with myght and poure,
 " And to destroye the ryght lyne was here entent,
 " Wherfore sche hathe a fal, to here gret langoure.
- " And now sche ne rought, so that sche myght attayne,
 " Though alle Engeland were brought to confusyon,
 " Sche and here wykked affynité certayne
 " Entende uttyrly to destroye thys regioun ;
 " For with theym ys but dethe and distruccioun,
 " Robberye and vengeaunce, with alle rygour,
 " Therfore alle that holde of that oppynioun,
 " God sende hem a schort ende with meche langour.
- " O it ys gretly agayne kynde and nature,
 " An Englyshe man to corruppe hys owne nacion,
 " Willyng straungiers for to recure,
 " And in Engeland to have the domynacioun,
 " Wenying thanne to be gret of reputacion ;
 " For sothe they that soo hope, least schal be theyre pour ;
 " He that wold be high schal be undir subjeccioun,
 " And the fyrst that schal repente the langoure.
- " Wherfore I lykken England to a gardayne,
 " Whiche that hathe ben overgrown many yere
 " Withe wedys, whiche must be mowen doune playne,
 " And then schul the pleasant swete herbes appere.
 " Wherfore alle trewe Englysshe people, pray yn fere
 " For Kyng Edward of Rouen, oure comfortoure
 " That he kepe justice and make wedis clere,
 " Avoydyng the blak cloudys of langoure.
- " A gret signe it ys that God loveth that knyght,
 " For alle thoo that wold have destroyed hym utterly,
 " Alle they are myschyeved and put to flyght,
 " That remembre hys fortune with chevalry
 " Whiche at Northampton gate the victory.
 " And at Mortimers Crosse he had the honnour ;
 " On Palme Sunday he wan the palme of glorye,
 " And put hys enemyes to endelez langour,
- " And drave his adversary oust of the lande ;
 " Aftyr cam to Londun and was crowned Kyng.
 " Ryght late God gaf hym grace to undirstonde,
 " The fals traytours agayne hym y magynunge,
 " The prophecie saithe, there schal dere hym noo thinge,
 " He it ys that schal wyne castell, towne, and toure ;
 " Alle rebellyous undyr he schal hem brynge,
 " Willyng to hys highenesse any langoure.

" Richard the erl of Warwyk, of knyghthode
 " Lodesterre, borne of a stok that evyr schal be trewe,
 " Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,
 " Hathe ay ben redy to helpe and resskewe
 " Kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endewe ;
 " The commens therto have redy every houre ;
 " The voyx of the people, the voix of Jhesu,
 " Who kepe and preserve hym from alle langoure.

" Now blyssed saint George, pray the vierge immaculat
 " To be good mediatrix, praying her sonne
 " That Edward of Rouen may be victorieux and fortunat,
 " Withe alle the trew lordes of hys regioun,
 " That they may se a good way and directionn
 " To make peas in Engeland, that riche and pouer
 " May joyfully syng at the conclusyon,
 " Welcom everlastyng joye, and farewal langoure.

Issue Roll, Michaelmas. 5 Edward IV.

In money paid at different times for the costs and expenses of Henry Wyndsore, late de facto et non de jure King of England, being in the Tower of London, by the hands of Thomas Grey and Richard Hatfield; viz. :—at one time 5 marks, by the hands of Thomas Grey; at a second time 10 marks, by the hands of Richard Hatfield; at ten times £32 13s. 4d., by the hands of William Griffith; at another time 5 marks, and at another time 5 marks, by the hands of Hugh Courtenay.

£49 6s. 8d.

Easter. 8 Edward IV.

13th May.—To William Kymberley, a chaplain attending by the King's command in the Tower of London, there daily performing Divine Service before Henry, late de facto et non de jure King of England, from the feast of St. James the Apostle, in the 5th year of the said present King, unto the 4th of November, in the 6th year of the same King, without any fee or reward for the said attendance. In money paid to him by assignment made this day by his own hands, in discharge of £14 10s. 7½d., which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said William of his gift, by way of reward, after the rate of 7½d. per day, for his attendance aforesaid.

By writ, &c., £14 10s. 7½d.

Issue Roll, Easter. 9 Edward IV.

13th May.—To Thomas Grey, esquire. In money paid to his own hands in advance, as well for the expenses and diet of Henry VI., late de facto et non de jure King of England, being within the Tower of London, as for the expenses and diet of the said Thomas and others dwelling within the said Tower for the safe custody of the said Henry. By writ of Privy Seal amongst the mandates of Michaelmas Term in the 7th year of the present King. £106 13s. 4d.

Issue Roll, Easter. 11 Edward IV.

24th June.—To Richard Radclyf, esquire. In money paid to his own hands, for the expenses of Henry, late de facto et non de jure King of England, then within the Tower; viz.:—on the 23rd day of April last past. By writ, £2.

To Hugh Brice. In money paid to his own hands, for so much money expended by him as well for wax, linen, spices, and other ordinary expenses incurred for the burial of the said Henry of Windsor, who died within the Tower of London; and for wages and rewards to divers men carrying torches from the Tower aforesaid to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, and from thence accompanying the body to Chertsey.

By writ, &c., £15 3s. 6½d.

To Bawder Herman. In money paid to him in advance, at different times, for the expenses and daily allowances to Margaret, lately called the Queen, and to other persons attendant upon the said Queen; viz.:—at one time 100s., at another time 10 marks, at another time £8, at another time £10, at another time £10, at another time 10 marks, at another time £8, for such expenses and allowances.

By general writ current, &c., £54 6s. 8d.

To William Mulsho, esquire. In money paid to his own hands, for the ordinary costs and expenses of the said Margaret from the 22nd of September, in the 11th year of the present King, unto the 6th October then next following, for two weeks, after the rate of 5 marks for each week.

By writ, &c., £6 13s. 4d.

Roll of Accounts, Easter. 15 Edward IV.

To Richard Haute, esquire, paid as a reward for the costs and expenses incurred by him for conducting Margaret, lately called the Queen, from London to the town of Sandwich, by the King's command, paid by the hands of Thomas Seventhorp. £20.

(See Chapter X. p. 406.)

A learned dissertation was written by M. Floquet of Ronen, after a laborious examination of authentic documents, and giving an interesting picture of the Middle Ages. The author speaks of the origin of the privilege, and says, "that the dragon of St. Romain, which was carried in the procession, and formed an important point in the ancient tradition, was nothing else but idolatry, to which the holy Bishop of Ronen, St. Romain, gave the last blow: that in many other cities in France, the bishops who had successfully struggled against idolatry, heresy, or error were looked upon as the vanquishers of serpents and dragons, and were represented in that attitude on numberless monuments."

* * * * *

In a curious work by Eusebe Salverte,¹ he thus expresses himself:—"The struggle of good against evil, of light against darkness, of virtue against vice, of civilization against barbarism, of truth against error, is as old as the world; the ancients were well acquainted with it.

"Desirous of glorifying and rendering sensible to all the triumph of virtue and truth, they imagined and represented their gods, their heroes, and demi-gods, annihilating monsters, who had become the terror of the people. Apollo and the serpent Python, Jason and the dragon of Colchis, Hercules, Perseus, Anubis, are represented under these emblems on all the monuments of Greece and Egypt. From thence they passed into the writings of poets and historians. If then, in the time of pagans, the genius of good and light, personified under the features of a heavenly spirit triumphing over the genius of evil, of vice, and darkness, under the figure of a serpent, was a familiar image represented on numerous monuments, it is easy to conceive the eagerness with which Christians, at the fall of polytheism, adopted this image, so conformable to the language, the spirit, and the origin of the new religion.

"Genesis offers it under the form of the woman crushing the head of the serpent. The Apocalypse represents Michael the archangel and the dragon—the old serpent called the Devil—in chains.

"The ceremonies called the Rogations, of the 5th century, made this subject more familiar to the people, who, seeing in the processions the winged dragons, images of the demon, came to consider them as the representations of dragons of flesh and bone, vanquished by the bishops more particularly revered in their diocese. Such were the dragons of Taraseon, Poitiers, Metz, Troyes, Rheims, Louvaine, and Paris. As each cathedral church had its dragon borne in procession, so each cathedral had its holy bishop, the conqueror of a dragon or monstrous serpent, from which he delivered the country. Such were St. George and the dragon, the knights of France, Italy, and Corinth. According to all the legends, all these heroes vanquished dragons. This, then, represents an allegory received in all times and in all places—the triumph of the heavenly conqueror, of the principle of

¹ Paris, 1829.

“good and light, over the principle of darkness and evil, figured by a serpent as the pagans say, but as the Christian expresses it, the triumph of truth over error, of the Christian religion over polytheism,—in popular language, of God over the devil.”

M. Floquet divides his history into three parts. First, from the earliest times to 1512, in which year Louis XII. gave two edicts confirmatory of the privilege. Secondly, from 1512 to 1591, when Henry IV. modified the privilege, refusing it to those who were guilty of rape, murder with malice prepense, heresy, high treason, assassination, coining, and the issue of false coin. Thirdly, from 1591 to 1797, its final abolition. By some the origin of it is carried back to the seventh century.

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

In the annals of the 15th century frequent mention is made of large sums of money bequeathed by wealthy individuals for the celebration of masses for the good estate of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, and for themselves and relations. Thus were prayers for the dead and living mingled together as in the following:—

“This William de Botreaux, by his deeds bearing date 23rd September (37th of King Henry VI.), gave this manor of Yeovilton, with certain lands, to the parish of Camerton in this county, to the prior and convent of St. Peter’s at Bath, for a mass to be daily celebrated for the good estate of King Henry VI., Queen Margaret his wife, and Edward then Prince of Wales, as also for the good estate of him the said William, and Margaret at that time his wife, and after this life for the health of their souls; likewise, every Sunday in the year, for mass *de Sancta Trinitate*; on Monday, *de Sanctis Angelis*; on Tuesday, *de Omnibus Sanctis*; on Wednesday, *de Sancta Maria Magdalene*; on Thursday, *de SS. Petro and Paulo Apostles*; on Friday, *de Epiphania Domine*; and on Saturday, the like mass *de St. Maria*. Likewise, that three days before Easter (when mass shall not be said) for the distribution of six pence to the poor of Bath in bread, so that each poor man might have the value of a farthing, and that each priest, monk, or secular saying mass weekly should toll a bell in that monastery thrice (the said bell to be called Botreaux bell), and at the introite of the mass say with a loud voice, ‘Ye shall pray for the good estate of our Sovereign lord the King, Henry Sixth, and of our sovereign lady the Queen, and of Prince Edward, and of William Lord Botreaux and Margaret his wife while they live, and for their souls after they be departed out of this world: and for the soul of Elizabeth, late the wife of the said William Lord Botreaux, and for his fader’s soul, and his moder’s soul, and his grand-fader’s soul, and his grandam’s; and for all the souls which the said lord will assign them to pray for, in writing, and for all his ancesters’ souls, and all Christian souls, Pater noster thrice, and Ave Maria, with this psalm, “De profundis clamasi,” &c., with a low voice,’ and that the priest saying such mass shall daily receive twopence, and the consent

"of that monastery to receive from the prior, for the obit of the said
 "Lord and Elizabeth his late wife, to be performed in albis before the
 "altar of the Holy Trinity forty shillings, to be equally divided amongst
 "them, &c. &c."¹

REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1407. In the year 1407 the plague raged in London, and swept away above 30,000 inhabitants.²
1435. The river Thames frozen over.
1438. This year, 1438, was remarkable for a cruel famine, which made dreadful havoc in England and in France at the same period, and was followed by the plague.³
1445. A pestilence in London, in 1445, caused the prorogation of Parliament from the 5th of June to the 20th of October.
1446. The Library of the Vatican at Rome was founded in 1446.
1446. In 1446, at a wedding near Zeghebreie, died of extreme surfeiting by drinking, nine score persons, men and women.
1454. In this year Sir John Norman, a draper, being Lord Mayor, introduced the water-procession to Westminster, which was so great an improvement on the former ones by land that the citizens, to express their satisfaction, sung a ballad to the honour of their civic magistrate, "Row thy boat, Norman," &c.⁴
1454. In June of this year, 1454, previous to the rise of the Yorkists, a blazing star was to be seen, which extended its beams to the south.⁵
1455. A comet appeared called the "Stella Cometa," which was seen betwixt the north and east, extending its beams to the south.
1458. Another blazing star was to be seen in 1458.⁶
1458. In this year the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Vasco di Gamo.
1459. A year of great scarcity in France, and of great mortality in other places (was 1459); also an earthquake is spoken of by Fabyan in 1457.⁷
1477. The Plague in London, when more lives were lost than in the fifteen years' war.

A document, copied from a manuscript in the Harleian Library, gives the following statement of the individuals of distinction who perished in the quarrel of the Roses during a period of 54 years:—

Kings.

Henry 6th	.	.	.	slain in the Tower.
Edward 5th	.	.	.	in the same.
Richard 3rd	.	.	.	at Bosworth Field.

¹ Collinson's Hist. of Somersetshire.

² Rapin.

⁴ Lond. Chron.

⁶ Lond. Chron.

³ Raleigh's Hist. of England.

⁵ Howel; Baker.

⁷ Monstrelet; Fabyan.

Dukes.

Of Gloucester	. . . . .	slain at Bury.
Suffolk	. . . . .	on the sea.
Somerset	. . . . .	at St. Alban's.
York	. . . . .	Wakefield.
Somerset	. . . . .	Hexham.
Somerset	. . . . .	Tewkesbury.
Buckingham	. . . . .	Northampton.
Exeter	. . . . .	at sea.
Clarence	. . . . .	in the Tower.
Buckingham	. . . . .	at Salisbury.
York	in the Tower.
Norfolk	at Bosworth Field.

Marquess.

Of Montague	at Barnet.
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Earls.

Of Northumberland	at St. Alban's.
Oxford	the Tower Hill.
Wiltshire	Mortimer's Cross.
Devonshire	. . . . .	York.
Northumberland	. . . . .	Taunton.
Devonshire	. . . . .	Tewkesbury.
Warwick	. . . . .	Barnet.
Worcester	. . . . .	on Tower Hill.
Salisbury	. . . . .	at Pomfret.
Devonshire	. . . . .	Bridgewater.
Rivers	. . . . .	Daventry.
Rivers	. . . . .	Pomfret.
Pembroke	. . . . .	Northampton.
Rutland	. . . . .	Wakefield.
Lincoln	. . . . .	Stokefield.
Warwick	the Tower Hill.
Shrewsbury	Northampton.

Viscount.

Beaumont	at Northampton.
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Barons.

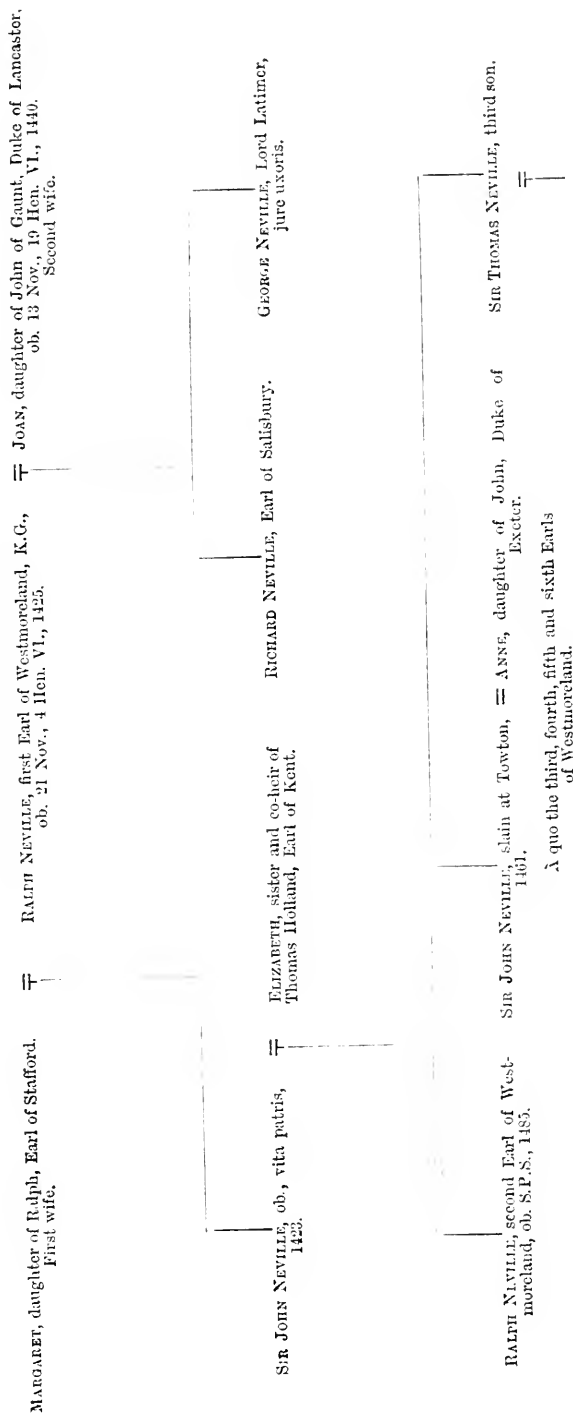
Lord St. John	at Tewkesbury.
Clifford	St. Alban's.
Clifford	Taunton Fields.
Fitzwalter	. . . . .	Ferry Bridge.
Wells	. . . . .	Taunton Fields.
Egremont	. . . . .	Northampton.
Lovel	. . . . .	Stokefield.
Roffe	. . . . .	Hexham.
Hungerford	. . . . .	Salisbury.

Barons.

Lord Wenlock	.	.	.	.	slain at Tewkesbury.
Audley	.	.	.	.	Blore Heath.
Wells	.	.	.	.	Lincoln.
Willoughby	.	.	.	.	Stamford.
Rugemond Guy	.	.	.	.	Leicester.
Stolis	.	.	.	.	London.
Daurie	.	.	.	.	Taunton.
Latimer	.	.	.	.	Banbury.
Audley	.	.	.	.	Tower Hill.
Hastings	.	.	.	.	in the Tower.
Fitzwalter	.	.	.	.	at Dalys.
Bonhill	.	.	.	.	St. Alban's.
Cromwell	.	.	.	.	Barnet.
Saye	.	.	.	.	Barnet.
Ferris	.	.	.	.	Bosworth Field. ¹

¹ *Graphia Illustrata*, copied from a manuscript in the Harleian Library.

HOUSE OF WESTMORELAND.





CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
768	Milon	Charlemagne.		
778	Thierri.			
795	.....	.....		Leo III.
800	.....		Egbert the Great.	
814	.....	Louis I., "le Débonnaire."		
816	.....	.....		Stephen V.
817	.....	.....		Paschal I.
824	.....	.....		Eugene II.
827	.....	.....		Valentine.
"	.....	.....		Gregory IV.
836	.....	.....	Ethelwolf.	
840	.....	Charles the Bald, "le Chauve."		
	UPPER. LOWER.			
844	.....	.....		Sergius II.
845	Robert.	.....	
847	.....	.....		Leo IV.
851	Erispœe.	.....	
855	.....	.....		Benedict III.
857	.....	.....
858	.....	.....	Ethelbald	Nicholas I.
860	.....	.....	Ethelbert.	
866	.....	.....	Ethelred I.	
867	Eudes.	.....		Adrian II.
871	.....	.....	Alfred y ^e Great.	
873	Torquat .....	.....		John VIII.
877	.....	Louis II., the Stammerer.		
879	Ingelger.....	Louis III. and Carloman.		
882	.....	.....		Martin II.
884	.....	Charles the Fat...		Adrian III.
885	.....	.....		Stephen VI.
887	.....	Eudes.		
888	Foulques "le Roux."	.....	
891	.....	.....		Formosus.
896	.....	.....		Boniface VI.
"	.....	.....		Stephen VII.
897	.....	.....		Romanus.
898	.....	Charles the Simple		Theodore II.
"	.....	.....		John IX.
900	.....	.....	Edward y ^e Elder	Benedict IV.
903	.....	.....		Leo. V.
"	.....	.....		Christopher.
904	.....	.....		Sergius III.

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
911	Anastasius.
913	Lando.
914	John X.
922	Robert I.	.....	.....
923	Ralph.	.....	.....
924	Athelstan.	.....
928	Leo. VI.
929	Stephen VIII.
931	John XI.
936	Louis IV.	.....	Leo VII.
938	Foulques "le Bon."	.....	.....	.....
939	Stephen IX.
940	Edmund.	.....
942	Martin II.
946	Edred	Agapet II.
954	Lothaire.	.....	.....
955	Edwy.	.....
956	John XII.
958	Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle."	.....	.....	.....
959	Edgar.	.....
964	Benedict V.
965	John XIII.
972	Benedict VI.
973	Domnus II.
974	Benedict VII.
975	Edward y ^e Martyr.	.....
978	Ethelred II.	.....
983	John XIV.
985	John XV.
"	John XVI.
986	Louis V.	.....	.....
987	Foulques "Nerra"	Hugh Capet.	.....	Gregory V.
996	Robert y ^e Pious...	.....	Sylvester II.
999	John XVII.
1003	John XVIII.
"	Sergius IV.
1009	Benedict VIII.
1012
1016	Edmund Ironside.	.....
1017	Canute y ^e Great.	.....
1024	John XIX.
1031	Henry I.	.....	.....
1033	Benedict IX.
1036	Harold Harefoot.	.....
1040	Geoffrey "Martel"	.....	Hardicanute.	.....
1042	Edward y ^e Confessor.	.....
1044	Gregory VI.
1046	Clement II.
1048	Damascus II.
"	Leo IX.
1055	Victor II.
1057	Stephen X.
1058	Nicholas II.
1060	Foulques IV., "le Rechin"	Philip I.	.....	.....
1061	Alexander II.
1066	Harold II.	.....

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
1066	William I.	
1073	Gregory VII.
1086	Victor III.
1087	William II.	
1088	Urban II.
1099	Pascal II.
1100	Henry I.	
1108	Louis VI.	.....
1109	Foulques V.	.....	.....
1118	Gelasius II.
1119	Calixtus II.
1124	Honorius II.
1130	Innocent II.
1131	Geoffrey Planta- genet	.....	.....
1135	Stephen.	
1137	Louis VII.	.....
1143	Celestine II.
1144	Lucius II.
1145	Eugene III.
1153	Anastasius IV.
1154	Henry II.	.....	Henry II.	Adrian IV.
1159	Alexander III.
1180	Philip II., Augustus.	.....
1181	Lucius III.
1185	Urban III.
1187	Gregory VIII.
"	Clement III.
1189	Richard I.	.....	Richard I., "Cœur de Lion."	
1191	Celestine III.
1199	John	.....	John.	
1203	Crown of France.	.....	.....
1216	Louis VIII.	Henry III.	Honorius III.
1223	Louis IX., Saint.	.....
1226	
1227	Gregory IX.
1241	Celestine IV.
1243	Innocent IV.
1246	Charles I.	.....	.....
1254	Alexander IV.
1261	Urban IV.
1265	Clement IV.
1270	Philip III., y ^e Bold.	.....
1271	Gregory X.
1272	Edward I.	
1276	Innocent V.
"	Adrian V.
"	John XX.
1277	Nicholas III.
1281	Martin IV.
1285	Charles II.	Philip IV., y ^e Fair	.....	Honorius IV.
1288	Nicholas IV.
1290	Charles III., of Valois.	.....	.....
1294	Celestine V.
"	Boniface VIII.
1303	Benedict XI.

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
1305	Clement V.
1307	Edward II.	
1314	Louis X.		
1316	John I.		
"	Philip V., y ^e Tall	.....	John XXI.
1322	Charles IV., y ^e Fair.		
1325	Philip VI., of Valois.			
1327	Edward III.	
1328	Philip VI., of Valois.		
1332	John II., y ^e Good.			Benedict XII.
1334		Clement VI.
1342		
1350	John II., y ^e Good.		Innocent VI.
1352		
1356	Louis I.			Urban V.
1363		
1364	Charles V.		Gregory XI.
1371		
1377	Richard II.	
1378		Urban VI. — Cle- ment VII.
1380	Charles VI.		
1384	Louis II.			
1390		Boniface IX.
1394		Benedict XIII.
1399	Henry IV.	
1404		Innocent VII.
1406		Gregory XII.
1409		Alexander V.
1410		John XII.
1413	Henry V.	
1417	Louis III.	.....		Martin V.
1422	Charles VII.	Henry VI.	
1431		Eugene IV.
1434	René.	.....	
1447		Nicholas V.
1455		Calixtus III.
1458		Pius II.
1461	Louis XI.	Edward IV.	
1464		
1471		Paul II.
1480	Charles of Maine.		Sixtus IV.
1481	Louis XI.		

THE END.





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